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Noun Reduplication in Comox, a Salish Language of Vancouver Island

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Noun Reduplication in Comox, a Salish Language of Vancouver Island

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most characteristic grammatical processes of a group of Northwest Pacific Coast languages, embracing the Tsimshian, Kwakiutl-Nootka, Salish, and Chemakum linguistic stocks, is initial reduplication, employed in both noun and verb forms to indicate a variety of grammatical concepts, chiefly those of plurality, distribution, and iteration. The Salish languages in particular are known to make exuberant use of reduplication for grammatical purposes, but the subject, which seems to bristle with irregularities and intricacies of detail, has never been adequately treated for any of the numerous dialects of the stock. Indeed, a thorough grammatical study, at the same time phonetically adequate, of a Salish language, is still one of the desiderata of American linguistics.

During the autumn of 1910, while prosecuting ethnologic and linguistic research for the Geological Survey of Canada among the Nootka Indians now living in two reserves near Alberni, B.C., opportunity was incidentally found to gather some linguistic data on Comox, a Salish language spoken on the east coast of Vancouver island near the present town of Comox. The dialect represented in these notes seems to be

Comox proper (*Q!ðmox^{us}*), with which *L!ðhox*, spoken on the mainland of British Columbia, was stated to be identical. *Sálól^u* was stated to be a northern dialect of the same language. This term is evidently identical with Boas' *Çatlóltq*, which he uses to apply to the most northern group of Coast Salish tribes, excluding Bella Coola, inhabiting "Discovery Passage, Valdes Island, Bute and Malaspina Inlets."¹ Boas adds, "The *Çatlóltq* are called K'omoks by the *Lék wiltok*" (southernmost Kwakiutl tribe.)

The informant was Tommy Bill, an Indian of mixed blood, whose father belongs to the *Ts!icá'atH^a* tribe of Nootka Indians, while his mother was a Comox, he himself living with and being to all intents and purposes a member of the *Hōpátcl^as'atH^a* tribe of Nootkas. His knowledge of Comox was obtained in his earlier years, when living among his mother's people, whom he visits from time to time; it is only fair to add that he speaks mainly Nootka and English nowadays and does not claim to have a perfect command of Comox. However, the rather elementary character of the data obtained, together with convincing internal evidence derived from their study, leaves no room for doubt as to the essential accuracy of the material here presented. Most of the time spent on Comox was taken up with securing material pertinent to the problem of reduplication in nouns. For most of the nouns obtained, plural, diminutive, and diminutive plural forms were secured, all of which involve various types of reduplication. Our linguistic material thus naturally divides itself into three heads, not to speak of a small number of nouns that are always used in reduplicated form. A few introductory remarks on Comox phonetics and some supplementary data are also added.

I. PHONETICS.

VOWELS. The short vowels found in the Comox material secured are: *a* (as in German *Mann*); *ā* (as in English *bat*); *e* (short and open as in English *met*); *ɛ* (short and close as in French *été*); *i* (short and open as in English *bit*); *í* (short and close as in French *fini*); *o* (short and open as in German *dort*);

¹ See F. Boas, *First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia*, Report B. A. A. S., 1889, 5th Report on North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 10.

o (short and close as in French *beau*); and *u* (short and open as in English *put*). Of these vowels, *e*, *i*, and *ɨ* are etymologically one sound, which is modified by phonetic surroundings; similarly, *o* and *u*. Velar consonants tend to lower preceding or following *i* to *ɛ* (possibly sometimes *e*), while certain consonants (particularly *s* and *ʃ*) tend to palatalize *i* to *ɨ*. *e* and *o*, which latter does not occur often, are doubtless etymologically related to *ɛ* and *o* respectively, but seem in every case to be clearly kept distinct from these. *ā* is not common.

Corresponding to each of the short vowels is a long vowel (long *ā*, however, has not been found). These are indicated as: *ā* (as in German *Bahn*); *ê* (long and open as in French *mère*, or as in English *bear*, but without "r-vanish"); *ē* (long and close as in German *See*); *î* (long and open as in English *beer*, but without "r-vanish"); *ī* (long and close as in English *see*); *ō* (long and close as in English *roll*, or as in German *Sohn*); *ô* (long and open as in English *born*, but without "r-vanish"); *ū* (long and close as in English *rule*); and *û* (long and open as in English *poor*, but without "r-vanish"). Similarly to the corresponding short vowels, and under parallel phonetic circumstances, *ē*, *î*, and *ī* are variants of one sound, etymologically speaking, though *î* is often to be interpreted as lengthened form of inorganic vowels, in which case it does not seem to vary with *ē* and *ī*; *ō*, *û*, and *ū* are likewise representatives of what is etymologically a single sound. *ô* does not often occur; it is probably etymologically related to *ō*. *ê* occurs often and cannot be considered a mere variant of *ē*.

As not infrequently happens in American Indian languages, the long vowels are not always held out with even stress, but end with short rearticulations which give the whole vowel in each case a quasi-diphthongal effect. Such vowels have been noted by the writer in Takelma, Southern Paiute, and, at least to a moderate extent, in Nootka; Boas has noted them in Tsimshian. While they occur to a considerable extent in Comox, they cannot as in Takelma be considered the normal forms of the long vowels; sometimes the short rearticulations seem to serve as glides to following consonants, particularly velars. The quasi-diphthongal long vowels are here indicated by long vowels followed by superior short vowels, the vocalic

quality of the latter being indicated as in normal short vowels. There are found: \bar{a}^a ; \bar{e}^e ; \bar{e}^e ; \bar{e}^i (occurs before anterior palatal consonants); \bar{i}^i ; \bar{i}^i ; \bar{i}^e (occurs before velar consonants); \bar{o}^o and \bar{o}^u ; and \bar{u}^u . A number of cases also occur of short vowels followed by weak rearticulating vowels; such are e^e , o^o , and i^e (here the e is a glide to the following velar consonant). Some of these may well represent secondarily shortened long vowels. Differing from such long or short vowels with quasi-diphthongal character are vowels that are secondarily diphthongized by a vocalic glide whose timbre depends wholly on the following consonant; such is \hat{i}^u in *kúpá^umî^uq^u* "hill," in which the second u is a glide due to the u -timbre of the final consonant.

Short vowels of somewhat obscure quality are also found, either representing dulled forms of normal short vowels or being of inorganic origin and meant to lighten consonant clusters or serve as glides. Such vowels are: A (as in English *but*, yet sometimes less clearly marked in quality), which is sometimes inorganic, sometimes dulled from a ; E (obscure vowel with e -quality); and I (very short rather unclear i).

At times short vowels are so weakly articulated as to be barely audible; these are rather "murmured" short vowels of etymological significance than merely glides, timbre-echos of preceding consonants, or voiceless vowels. Examples are: e in *lô^bbô^m* "small clam" ($-b-$ reduced from *lô^ob-* in *lô^obô^m* "clam"); yet in this case e can just as well be morphologically dispensed with and phonetically explained as a timbre-echo of $-ôl-$; A in *qê^wAx* "steel-head salmon" (that A is organic, despite its dull quality and extreme brevity, and reduced from a , is indicated by Nootka *qê^wwaH* "steel-head salmon," with which Comox *qê^wAx* is evidently identical; borrowing has doubtless taken place); A and a in *hê^wAqen^s* "swan" and its diminutive *hê^wAqAdôl*.

Another class of "murmured" vowels (German 'Murmelvokale') is formed by weakly articulated, yet not voiceless, vowels occurring in syllabically final position after glottal stops (?). Such vowels are only in part "murmured echoes," i.e., reduced repetitions of immediately preceding fully voiced vowels (such are a'^a , e'^i , $\hat{i}'i$, $a\hat{i}'i$, $\bar{o}'o$, $\bar{o}'o$; vowel breakings of this type occur often in American languages); in some cases we have

also murmured vowels after glottal stops that are of different quality and etymologically distinct from immediately preceding vowels (such are a' and \bar{a}').

Some consonants, notably glottalized ("fortis") consonants, are apt to be followed by timbre-echoes dependent in quality on the preceding vowel. This simply means that the oral resonance chamber characteristic of a vowel may, failing to be materially disturbed by the following consonant position, linger on and thus become acoustically noticeable as a voiceless (sometimes aspirated) vocalic echo; if the consonant is a spirant, the vocalic timbre may be audible during its production. Examples of such unaspirated timbre-echoes after glottalized consonants are: a in $p!á'alats!^a$ "skunk" and o in $k!ô'dô!^o$ "porpoise." In $lâ^agvê!^a$ "herring" the $t!$ was heard with definite a -timbre despite preceding \hat{e} . After u (o)-vowels syllabically final k -sounds are regularly followed by echoes (aspirations when consonant is not glottalized) with u -timbre. Hence k^u , $k!^u$, x^u , q^u , $q!^u$, and x^u (see below for orthography of k -sounds). These sounds, however, are also very frequent after unrounded vowels, as in $lâ^adak^u$ "skin;" in such cases they represent original labialized k -sounds (see below). Aspiration with definite u -timbre is also found after t , as in $sâ!t^u$ "woman."

Excluding such inorganic diphthongs as are formed by vowels and following glides (e.g., \hat{i}^u), there have been found as true short diphthongs ai , au (also ιu), $\bar{a}i$, ei , and long diphthongs $\bar{a}i$, $\bar{a}u$. Vowels normally forming diphthongs that do not so unite, each preserving its full value, are separated by $.$ (thus, $a.i$ as distinct from true diphthong ai). Stress accent is indicated by $'$ over vowels.

CONSONANTS. The consonant system of Comox is fairly full, including, as it does, eleven distinct series that differ according to place of articulation. As regards manner of articulation, six distinct series are to be recognized (voiceless stops, glottalized or "fortis" stops, voiced stops, voiced nasals, voiceless spirants, and voiced spirants), though by no means all of these are represented for all places of articulation. The voiceless stop and glottalized stop series are complete, the voiceless spirants nearly so, while the others are quite defective. All these consonants may be represented in the form of a table:—

| | VOICE- LESS STOPS | GLOT- TALIZED STOPS | VOICED STOPS | NASALS | VOICE- LESS SPIRANTS | VOICED SPIRANTS |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| LARYNGEAL (GLOTTAL)..... | ' | | | | h | |
| VELAR..... | q | q' | | | x | |
| LABIALIZED VELAR..... | qw | q'w | | | xw | |
| GUTTURAL..... | k | k' | | | ɣ | |
| LABIALIZED GUTTURAL..... | kw | k'w | | | ɣw | |
| PRE-GUTTURAL (ANTERIOR PALA- TAL)..... | kv | kv' | ɣv | | ɣv | y |
| DORSAL LABIAL..... | L | L' | l (voiced contin- uant) | | l | |
| PALATAL SIBILANT..... | tc | tc' | dj | | c | |
| ALVEOLAR SIBILANT..... | ts | ts' | | | s' | |
| ALVEOLAR..... | t | t' | (d) | n | | |
| LABIAL..... | p | p' | (b) | m | | w |

c is pronounced like *sh* of English *ship*; *xʷ* like *ch* of German *ich*. *tc*, *tc'*, *dj* (like *j* of English *jam*), *ts*, and *ts'* are affricatives (stop plus corresponding spirant; no simple stops correspond to *tc*-series). *L* and *L'* are also affricatives, but with lateral (voiceless spirant *l*) release.

b and *d* are phonetic variants of *m* and *n*; *b* and *d* were often, though not consistently, heard between vowels, *m* and *n* rather consistently as initials, while *m* and *n* were more often heard as syllabic finals than *b* and *d*. These *b-m* and *d-n* sounds have been at various times analysed by Boas as "semi-nasalized" consonants. "The nasal opening," he writes, "may differ in width, and the stricture of the upper nares may produce semi-nasalized consonants."² Again, in speaking more definitely of Coast Salish, ". . . the *b* sound . . . is produced with half-closed nose by the Indians of the Strait of Fuca, in the State of Washington. . . . The characteristic trait of the sound is a semiclosure of the nose, similiar to the effect produced by a cold in the head."³ These remarks doubtless apply to Comox as

¹ Boas uses *ç* (interdental spirant, like *th* of English *thick*) in certain words for our *s*. See his *Catłéitq* vocabulary, Report B.A.A.S., 1890, 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, pp. 141-163. I do not know if Tommy Bill's failure to use this sound is an individual peculiarity or not.

² F. Boas, *Introduction*, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911, p. 22.

³ *ibid.*, p. 17.

well as to more southern Coast Salish languages, yet it seems likely to the writer that under certain phonetic conditions these semi-nasals become true nasals. No attempt will here be made to normalize orthography on this point, a faithful record of what was heard, or thought to be heard, being presented.

Eliminating *b* and *d* as of secondary origin (*g^v* and *dj*, it should be carefully noted, are true sonant stops, not "intermediates"), all the other consonants listed in the table are etymologically distinct, that is, none of them are mere variants. (*k*, *k!*, and *ɣ*, however, may prove to be merely secondary forms of *kw*, *k!w*, and *ɣw*.) This gives us no less than thirty-six (or thirty-three) organically distinct consonants to operate with. A secondary series of aspirated surds (voiceless stops followed by aspiration) arises when voiceless stops occur as syllabic finals (written *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *k^v'*, *q'*, *tc'*); *kw* and *qw* become *k^u'* and *q^u'*, that is, their aspiration-release has *u*-timbre; similarly, *k!w* and *q!w* in this position become *k!^u'* and *q!^u'*. *q*, it may be noted, is often released into a weak spirant glide *x* (written *x*) before the following vowel is attacked (thus, *q^xa* for *qa*). Final vowels and *m* and *n* are also often followed by aspiration (*-a'* and similarly for other vowels, *m'* or less often *b'*, *n'* or less often *d'*), though this was not consistently heard. Final *m* and *n* are etymologically distinct from final glottally affected *m* and *n*, which are written *m'* and *n'* (sometimes breath release is heard after glottal release, when they are written *m^h'* and *n^h'*). Long consonants (indicated by *·* after consonant) were noted, but seem to be of no etymological significance (examples are *q[·]'*, *d[·]'*).

SOUND CHANGES. Lengthening and reduction of vowels are important phonological processes in Comox, also, though to less extent, changes of vowel quality. As these, however, are generally of grammatical significance, they are best taken up in their proper place under types of reduplication. As more strictly phonetic pure and simple in character is to be considered the palatalizing of *a* to *i* in the neighbourhood of *g^v*, also the change of *a* to *u* and *i* in appropriate phonetic circumstances. These changes also, however, are most clearly brought out in connexion with morphological processes.

Many cases of *g^v*, perhaps all, are undoubtedly due to original *w*. It seems that *w*, when it came to stand between vowels

(not, it would seem, including cases of preceding vowel plus glottal stop), also initially in many cases, regularly passed into g^v . Thus, as diminutive of $x\acute{A}ucin'$ "bone" is found $x\acute{e}xig^v\acute{u}cin'$ < $*x\acute{e}x\acute{A}wicin'$ (- Ag^v - becomes - ig^v -, as noted above). Similarly, from $q\acute{e}'w^Ax$ "steel-head salmon" is formed $q\acute{e}'qeg^veex$ "little steel-head salmon" and $q\acute{e}q\acute{A}uq\acute{a}'ag^v\acute{e}ex$ "little steel-head salmon (plur.)." This phonetic law explains a class of plurals, formed by reduplicating with o - vowel, derived from stems in internal - g^v -. Thus, from $t!ég^vem$ (< $*t!éwem$) "sun, moon" is formed plur. $t!ó^t!eg^vem$ (< $*t!Áwt!ewem$); other examples will be given in their proper place. So also is explained suffix - $\acute{a}g^v\acute{u}l$ "canoe" in such forms as $t\acute{c}\acute{a}d\acute{a}'g^v\acute{u}l$ "three canoes," $s\acute{e}yats\acute{a}'g^v\acute{u}l$ "five canoes", as compared with - $\acute{a}u\acute{l}$ in $m\acute{o}ss\acute{a}u\acute{l}$ "four canoes;" - $\acute{a}g^v\acute{u}l$ is evidently from $*-\acute{a}w\acute{u}l$ (cf. Kwántlén, of Cowichan group of Coast Salish, - $aq\acute{u}l$ "canoe" in numerals,¹ i.e., - $axw\acute{u}l$; perhaps cf. Comox $n\acute{e}xw\acute{u}l$ "canoe"). An interesting test case is $q\acute{e}'ig^vas$ "deer," doubtless a loanword from Kwakiutl (cf. Kwakiutl $q\acute{e}was$ "deer"²). Another such test case is afforded by Comox $t\acute{u}q^v\acute{u}x^u$ "nine" < $*t\acute{A}wAx^u$ or $*t\acute{A}wux^u$ (cf. Kwántlén $t\acute{u}q$ "nine,"³ i.e., $t\acute{u}x$ or $t\acute{u}x$, contracted from $*tuwux$). Compare also Comox $h\acute{e}'ig^v\acute{o}s$ "chief" with Pentlate and Siciatl $h\acute{e}wus^4$. On the other hand a number of words have been found with w between vowels. Such are $ts!ats!áwicin'$ "hail," $xw\acute{á}'aw\acute{u}t'$ "fire," and $\acute{a}w\acute{á}k^u$ "tobacco." It is not clear how this - w - is related to - w - > - g^v -.

Just as g^v and w are related, so there is reason to believe that dj and y are related, though there is perhaps not quite as convincing internal evidence at hand. See Type VIII of plural formations for such evidence. Moreover, with Comox $dj\acute{t}dis$ "tooth" compare Kwántlén $y\acute{e}nis$ "tooth;"⁵ with Comox $dj\acute{u}cin'$ "foot" compare Siciatl $y\acute{t}cin'$.⁶

¹ See C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkómélém, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 65.

² See F. Boas, *Kwakiutl*, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911, p. 447.

³ C. Hill-Tout, *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ F. Boas, *Comparative Vocabulary of Eighteen Languages spoken in British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada, p. 148.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkómélém, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 86.

⁶ F. Boas, *Comparative Vocabulary of Eighteen Languages spoken in British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada, p. 147.

II. NOUNS NORMALLY REDUPLICATED.

A considerable number of Comox nouns always appear in reduplicated form, reduplication in these cases being of no grammatical significance, but belonging to the noun as such. Many of them are animal names, and of these some are quite evidently onomatopoeic. Ten fairly distinct types of reduplication seem to be illustrated in the rather limited material available. Very likely others exist.

Type I. Completely Reduplicating.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>hō'mhō'm</i> blue grouse | <i>xōp'xōp'</i> humming-bird |
| <i>kʷāckʷāc</i> bluejay | <i>ts!i'xʷts!ixʷ</i> fish-hawk |
| <i>pōkʷpōkʷ</i> liver | <i>gʷtʷigʷtʷ</i> panther |
| <i>qē'n'qen'</i> duck | <i>qʷtʷiqʷtʷ</i> sea-gull |

“Duck” and “sea-gull” have both syllables with vowels alike in quality but with short vowel in the second.

Type II. Completely Reduplicating with ê.

tē'ltōl' small butter-ball duck *hā'ihēi'* arrow

“Arrow” belongs perhaps rather with Type I. Both of these nouns lose a glottal stop in the reduplicating syllable.

*Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cvc₁.*¹

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>tētctītēi'</i> owl | <i>kwa'kwā'adjō'</i> grey squirrel |
| <i>t!āq't!āqāi</i> dog-wood | |

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cē.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>mī'ēmau</i> cat | <i>kʷ!ē'kʷ!ākʷ!</i> crow |
| <i>tč'itca.iq'</i> salt-water hunter | |

In “salt-water hunter” reduplicating *tč-* is broken into *tč'i-*.

¹ In these formulæ *c* represents first consonant of stem, *v* first vowel, *c*₁ second consonant of stem, *v*₁ second vowel, and so on. *ʷ* represents any long vowel, *ʷ̄* any shortened vowel.

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: ci.

Only one or two certain examples have been found of this type. They differ from the preceding in that the vowel of the reduplicating syllable is short.

qwi^eqwā^t!Alā^o'k butterfly *wé'wālōs* young man
(form probably diminutive in).

Possibly also:—

é'ādjam' young woman

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cā or ca.

lālāpx pocket-knife *qwāqumī's* marten
xāxē'ⁱ nit *māmstcō'm* mink

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cv.

ts!ats!āwicin' hail *tc!atc!ā^t!ān'^o* mouse
xwāxwadjō'm fly (word probably diminutive in form).
q!q'tā'amas game with wooden ball¹
qóqpwī'm' down (of bird)

Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cṽ'.

qá^aqa' rush mat *djā^odja'* tree

Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: cō.

Only one example has been found of this type:—
tót'x^ulal necklace

Type X. Reduplicating Syllable: cēc.

Of this very peculiar type (doubly reduplicating consonant, otherwise like Type IV) also only one example has been found:—

q!ŋq!q!ā'adjé'uk^u butter-ball duck

¹ Formed from *q'tā'abas* "wooden ball covered with spruce-roots." There were two sides in the game, with the same number on each. Each side had a goal consisting of a little pit, which was guarded by one man. All but the two guards gathered in the centre. One man threw up the wooden ball and everyone tried to catch it, run with it to the goal of the opponents, and put it into the pit. Those of the other side tried to take the ball away from the one that had it. The side that first made ten goals won the game. After four goals had been made, the game was suspended for a while and a general free-for-all fight took place.

Here may also be given:—

q!áq!tu^u big fire (form is augmentative?): cf. *q!áti^x* fires scattered around.

III. REDUPLICATED PLURALS OF NOUNS.

By far the larger number of Comox nouns form their plural by reduplication, in a few cases different stems are used for singular and plural, while still other nouns seem to form no plural. The most persistent type of plural reduplication is that in which both first and second consonants of stem are repeated, though less numerously represented types also occur.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cvc₁

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>!Akqom'</i> beaver | plural <i>!Ak^u!Akqom'</i> |
| <i>kúmāqin'</i> sea-lion | <i>kumkúmāqin'</i> |
| <i>qwAdi's</i> humpbacked whale | <i>qwAd'qwAdi's</i> |
| <i>qwAsAm</i> woolly grouse | <i>qwAsqwAsAm</i> |
| <i>xōp'xōp'</i> humming-bird | <i>xōp'xōp'xōp'</i> |
| <i>ts!oxō'^o</i> codfish | <i>ts!óxts!oxō'^o</i> |
| <i>L!Axwā'ⁱ</i> dog salmon | <i>L!AxL!Axwā'ⁱ</i> |
| <i>sá'an'</i> coho salmon | <i>sá'^asá'an'</i> |
| <i>q!wAt'í'tcin'</i> humpback salmon | <i>q!wAt'q!wAt'í'tcin'</i> |
| <i>xá'ā</i> big clam | <i>xá'^axá'ā</i> |
| <i>Lí'^vAm'</i> cockle | <i>Lí'^vLí'^vAm'</i> (type VIII?) |
| <i>xApā'ⁱ</i> red cedar | <i>xAp'xApā'ⁱ</i> |
| <i>qō'^ua'ⁱ</i> hemlock | <i>qō'^uqō'^ua'ⁱ</i> |
| <i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak | <i>q!ap'q!áp!exwai</i> (with lengthening of first stem-vowel; -e- is inorganic) |
| <i>p!ē'ixāi</i> alder | <i>p!ē'p!ē'ixāi</i> (type VIII?) |
| <i>t!ē'ibāi</i> wild cherry bush | <i>t!ē't!ē'ibāi</i> (type VIII?) |
| <i>'áwāh^u</i> tobacco | <i>'au'áwāh^u</i> many bunches of tobacco |
| <i>q!wA'ix</i> wood | <i>q!wAiq!wA'ix</i> |
| <i>xá'a.idatc</i> stump | <i>xá'^axá'a.idatc</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>mÁqsín'</i> nose | plural <i>mÁqimÁqsín'</i> |
| <i>djícín'</i> foot | <i>djícjdjícín'</i> |
| <i>djidís</i> tooth | <i>djididdjidís</i> |
| <i>L!IkúinAs</i> heart | <i>L!Ék'L!IkúinAs</i> |
| <i>xÁucín'</i> bone | <i>xÁuxÁucín'</i> |
| <i>kʷít!</i> little finger | <i>kʷít!kʷít!</i> |
| <i>ts!Ámāla'</i> index finger | <i>ts!Ámts!Ámāla'</i> |
| <i>q!wát'Am</i> river | <i>q!wát'q!wát'Am</i> |
| <i>páxai'</i> creek | <i>páxpaxai'</i> |
| <i>L!áqē'nac</i> spring | <i>L!áq'L!áqē'nac</i> |
| <i>kúpú'mî'x̣u</i> hill | <i>kup'kúpumî'x̣u</i> (with shortening of second stem-vowel) |
| <i>L!áxai'</i> old man | <i>L!áxL!áxai'</i> |
| <i>qÁl'q!</i> warrior | <i>qÁl'qÁlq!</i> |
| <i>L!Áms</i> house | <i>L!ÁmL!Áms</i> |
| <i>xÁsAm</i> box | <i>xÁsAxÁsAm</i> |
| <i>kwá'am</i> coiled storage basket | <i>kwá'ákwá'am</i> |
| <i>L!pātīl</i> basket bag | <i>L!Ap'L!Ápātīl</i> |
| <i>q!ák'ʷ</i> board | <i>q!ák'ʷq!ák'ʷ</i> |
| <i>kʷ!ík'wāyu</i> oar | <i>kʷ!ík'w'kʷ!ík'wāyu</i> |
| <i>sÁq'Ák'ʷ</i> war-club | <i>sÁq'sÁq'Ák'ʷ</i> |
| <i>lÁq!ʷ</i> bow | <i>lÁq!ʷlÁq!ʷ</i> |
| <i>tc!ít'qāmin</i> knife | <i>tc!ít'tc!ít'qāmin'</i> |
| <i>síp!Ámî'n</i> shinny stick | <i>síp!síp!Ámî'n'</i> |
| <i>lÁq!As</i> mountain-goat blanket | <i>lÁq!lÁq!As</i> |
| <i>L!pʷ'ts!ā'á</i> yellow-cedar | <i>L!Ap'L!Apʷ'ts!ā'á</i> |
| <i>q!Ás'Adāi</i> buckskin shirt | <i>q!Ásq!Ás'Adāi</i> |
| <i>L!áq!acín'</i> moccasin | <i>L!Áq!L!Áq!acín'</i> |
| <i>páq'āqs</i> white-eyed | <i>páq'paq'āqs</i> |
| <i>tcíxāqs</i> red-eyed | <i>tcíxtcíxāqs</i> |

Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cac.

This type differs from the preceding in that, while both first and second stem-consonants are reduplicated, the stem vowel between these consonants is not, but is replaced by an inorganic *a*-vowel. If the vowel is followed or broken by a glottal stop, or if there are two successive vowels, the second consonant is

repeated just the same, the glottal stop being neglected in the reduplicating syllable. Thus, *tc!e'ād-* and *L!ā'al-* reduplicate as *tc!in-* and *L!Al-* respectively. Several nouns with stem-*A* and reduplicating-*A*, listed under Type I, should perhaps belong here. Three sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether *A* remains as such (sub-type *a*), is palatalized by *s*, *tc*, *tc!*, *kʷ*, *l*, or *y* to *i* (*i*) (sub-type *b*), or is labialized by *xw* to *u* (sub-type *c*).

Sub-type II a.

mʲexāl bear
L!ā'al'ō'm' wolf
q!ā^aL! land otter
q!ā^asa' sea otter
xā^awa fur seal
āsx^u hair seal
k!ō^edōt!^e porpoise

p!āq!Adātc goose
qé'n'gen' duck
hēw^Agen' swan
qé'w^Ax steel-head salmon
tā^aq!wa' devil-fish
mát!āi horse clam

sā^aba' mussel
má^atc!in' louse
ōsā'i huckleberry bush
xwāsAbāi soapberry bush
t!é'^edé^eqwai salmon-berry bush
t!ā'abuxwāi gooseberry bush

qēx^u ring finger
L!ā^aq!wāi fish-gill
sōpAdatc tail
ts!āmugt cloud

plural *māxmi^exāl*
L!ÁLL!ā'al'ō'm'
q!AL!q!ā^aL!
q!Ásq!ā^asa'
xÁuxā'wa
'Ás'āsx^u
k!wAd'k!wō^edōt!^e (with shortening of second vowel of stem)

p!Áq!p!āq!Adātc
qÁd'qēn'gen'
hÁuhew^Agen'
qAUqé'w^Ax
tAQ!tā^aq!wa'
mAt!mā^at!āi (with lengthening of first vowel of stem)

sAmSā^a'ba'
mAtc!Imá^atc!in'
'As'ōsā'i
xwÁsxwāsAbāi
t!Ant!é'^edé^eqwai
t!AmT!Amuxwāi (with reduction of *ā'a* of stem to *A*)

qÁx^uqēx^u
L!Áq!^uL!ā^aq!wāi
sÁp'sō^upAdatc
ts!ÁmItS!āmugt

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>t!á'ʷq!at'</i> mountain | plural <i>t!Aq!t!á'ʷq!at'</i> |
| <i>sē'qet'</i> dug hole, well | <i>sAQ'sē'qet'</i> |
| <i>t!ō'mic</i> man | <i>t!Ámt!ō'mic</i> |
| <i>xā'p!</i> baby basket | <i>xAp!xā'p!</i> |
| <i>t!ō'mt'</i> paddle | <i>t!Ámt!ō'mt'</i> |
| <i>waxā'ts!i</i> pipe | <i>wÁxwaxā'ts!i</i> |
| <i>t!ōt'x'ulal</i> necklace | <i>t!Át'ōt'x'ulal</i> |
| <i>q'tā'abas</i> wooden ball used in game | <i>qÁt'q'tā'abas</i> |
| <i>mítāli</i> beaver-tooth die | <i>mÁt'mítāli</i> (with length- ening of first stem- vowel) |
| <i>qá'ʷqa</i> rush mat | <i>qAQ'qá'ʷqa'</i> |
| <i>lāq!wāinop</i> cedar-bark mat | <i>lÁq!lāq!wāinop'</i> |
| <i>L!áxɛ</i> oldest | <i>L!AxL!áxɛ</i> |
| <i>L!átsāmi</i> strong | <i>L!ÁL!átsāmi</i> |
| An irregular example of this sub-type is:— | |
| <i>sāts!Am</i> tyee salmon | <i>sÁmsā'ts!Am</i> |

Here the first and third, instead of first and second, consonants are reduplicated.

Sub-type II b.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>tc!é'ādo</i> dog | <i>tc!íntc!é'ādo</i> |
| <i>k'ʷáck'ʷác</i> bluejay | <i>k'ʷíck'ʷáck'ʷác</i> |
| <i>l!ō'ʷbom'</i> small clam | <i>l!m!l!ō'ʷbom'</i> |
| <i>ts!átc!ilbai</i> spruce | <i>ts!ítc'ts!átc!ilbai</i> (<i>ts!ítc'</i> - instead of <i>ts!ítc!-</i>) |
| <i>s!ōs!in'</i> mouth | <i>s!íss!ōs!in'</i> (with shorten- ing of second stem- vowel) |
| <i>s!pāxos</i> horn | <i>s!íps!āp!āxos</i> |
| <i>k!ō'ʷsAD'</i> star | <i>k!w!ts!k!ōs!AD'</i> |
| <i>y!áxai'</i> pack-basket | <i>y!t!x!y!āxai'</i> |

Irregular examples of this sub-type are:—

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>tc!atc!á't!ān''</i> mouse | <i>tc!ít'tc!ā't!ān''</i> (for <i>tc!ít'</i> - instead of <i>tc!ít!</i> -see "spruce" above) |
| <i>t!x'ʷsal</i> tongue | <i>t!íst!x'ʷsal</i> |

In the first of these the plural is built not on the already reduplicated simplex (as e.g., in "bluejay" above), but on a simpler unreduplicated stem abstracted from it. In the second example the first and third, instead of the first and second consonants, are reduplicated (cf. "tyee salmon" above).

Sub-type II c. Only one example is available:—

xwātōqō'm "falls" plural *xūt'xwātōqō'm*

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cō or cō.

Nearly all of these nouns have *g^v* as their second consonant, representing, as we have already seen, original *w*. These nouns could be considered a sub-type of Type II, were it not that they form their reduplicating syllable not in *-au*, as might perhaps be expected (cf. *xāuxāucin'* under Type I), but in *-ō-* (*-ū-* after *dj-* and *g^v-*) or *-ō-* (probably due to contraction of original *-aw-*). Two sub-types can be recognized, according to whether the reduplicating vowel is short (sub-type *a*) or long (sub-type *b*).

Sub-type III a.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>tā'ag^vaḡ^u</i> fern | <i>tōtā'ag^vaḡ^u</i> |
| <i>tā'ag^vin</i> salmon spear | <i>tōtā'ag^vin</i> |

Sub-type III b.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>tā'ag^vēt!^o</i> herring | <i>tōtā'ag^vēt!^o</i> |
| <i>p!ég^vāi</i> halibut | <i>p!ō^up!ég^vāi</i> |
| <i>g^vī'g^vī</i> panther | <i>*g^vūg^vī'g^vī</i> (not obtained as such, but implied in diminutive plural <i>g^vī'g^vūg^vī'g^vī</i> "pan- ther cubs") |
| <i>t!ég^vem</i> sun, moon | <i>t!ō^ut!ég^vem</i> sun and moon |
| <i>hēg^vōs</i> chief | <i>hō^uhē^vg^vōs</i> |
| <i>djīg^vin'</i> song | <i>djūdjīg^vin'</i> |
| <i>tā^odak^u</i> skin | <i>tō^utā^odak^u</i> |

It is not clear why "skin" should reduplicate with *ō*-vowel.

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cv; Syncope of First Stem Vowel.

Only one example has been found of this type. As it begins with *g^v*-, the stem *-g^v* of the plural, coming immediately before another consonant, reverts to *w*, uniting with preceding *a* to form *au*.

g^váq'āhas married woman plural *g^váug'āhas*

That **wáq'āhas* is to be presupposed is corroborated by comparison with Kwántlen *s-wā-wékus* "married woman."¹

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: c'vc.

Nouns belonging to this group have long stem-vowels and differ from Type I in that the reduplicated vowel is shortened, though it keeps its quality.

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>xáug^vas</i> grizzly bear | <i>xáuxáug^vas</i> |
| <i>qá'um'</i> eye | <i>qáúqá'um'</i> |
| <i>qō^u'mai'</i> snow on ground | <i>qúmqō^u'mai'</i> |
| <i>lókō^mín</i> bailer | <i>luk'lókō^mín</i> |

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cac₁.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>tí'hā^adān'</i> chief's wife | <i>táhtíhā^adān'</i> |
| <i>hég'sā^mín'</i> pole for poling canoe | <i>háq'heq'sā^mín'</i> |
| <i>ólqai''ⁱ</i> snake | <i>'á'ólqai''ⁱ</i> (with shortening of first stem-vowel) |
| <i>aL</i> leggings | <i>'áL'az</i> |

"Leggings" may, of course, just as well belong to Type I.

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cv.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>q!qá'āda</i> ear | <i>q!q!qá'āda</i> |
| <i>tí (L!ams)</i> big (house) | <i>títí (L!ams)</i> big (houses) |
| <i>áx^u</i> snow-flake | <i>á'áx^u</i> falling snow |

¹ C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkómélém, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 89.

Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cē*.

According to varying phonetic circumstances we have either *i* or *ē*, the latter occurring after *g*, *q!* and *x*. The examples of this type obtained are:—

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>q!āik^u</i> eagle | plural <i>q!ēⁱq!āik^u</i> |
| <i>kwúdjāk^u</i> trout | <i>kwīⁱkwúdjāk^u</i> |
| <i>tīⁱx^u</i> yellow cedar | <i>tīⁱtīⁱxwaiⁱ</i> (may belong also to type VII; note <i>-aiⁱ</i> in plural) |
| <i>djā^adja^a</i> tree | * <i>djī^adjā^adja^a</i> (not obtained as such, but implied by diminutive plural <i>djē^adjī^adjā^a</i>) |
| <i>sāⁱdja^a</i> leaf | <i>sī^asāⁱdja^a</i> |
| <i>tāyac</i> hand | <i>tīⁱtāyac</i> |
| <i>sāyā^aada</i> neck | <i>sī^asāyā^aada</i> |
| <i>qā^aya^a</i> water | <i>qē^aqā^aya^a</i> |
| <i>sā^aya^a</i> lake | <i>sī^asā^aya^a</i> |
| <i>xā^aadjaic</i> stone | <i>xē^axā^aadjaic</i> |
| <i>tāⁱ'i</i> child | <i>tīⁱtāⁱ'i</i> |
| <i>k!ōyokōbīⁿ</i> (or <i>-mīⁱd</i>) fisherman | <i>k!wīⁱk!ōyokōmīⁿ</i> |
| <i>sī^adjāqō^ap^a</i> basket hat | <i>sī^asī^adjāqō^ap^a</i> |
| <i>lāidatctAn</i> woman's cedar-bark skirt | <i>tīⁱlāidatctAn</i> |

Eliminating "yellow cedar," which, as was pointed out, may just as well be reckoned as belonging to Type VII (there is reason, however, to believe that *tīⁱx^u* goes back to **tīyīx^u*; see diminutive type I b and diminutive plural type II f), all these plurals may be plausibly explained as cases of Type II, reduplicating *-i-* or *-ē-* being the contracted result of *-Ay-*. It will be observed that the stems of these nouns contain either *i-* diphthongs, including broken groups (*-āi-*, *-aⁱi-*, *-ūⁱi-*), vowel plus *y* (*-āy-*, *-ay-*, *-ā^ay-*, *-oy-*), or vowel plus *dj* (*-udj-*, *-ā^adj-*, *-ā^aadj-*, *-idj-*); *dj*, as we saw above, is probably a resultant of original *y*.

*Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: cā (or ca).**Sub-type IX a (with ā).*

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>tc!ēl</i> rain | plural <i>tc!ātcl!ēl</i> |
| <i>qđ'ʷqwai</i> speaker | <i>qwāqđ'ʷqwai</i> |
| <i>y'ip'î'xʷ</i> hole | <i>yāy'ip'î'xʷ</i> |

Sub-type IX b (with a).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>tc!itca.iq'</i> salt-water hunter | <i>tcātcl'itca.iq'</i> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|

Type X. First Stem-vowel Changed to ê.

These nouns are reduplicated to begin with, and substitute for plural reduplication a change of the first stem-vowel to ê (long and open).

The few examples are:—

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>wê'wālōs</i> young man | <i>wê''wālōs</i> |
| <i>é'ādjam'</i> young woman | <i>é''ādjam'</i> |
| <i>kʷ!ê'kʷ!ākʷ!</i> crow | <i>kʷ!ê'kʷ!ākʷ!</i> |

Type XI. Reduplicating Syllables: cācāc.

Only two examples have been found of this doubly reduplicating type of plural formation. In the first, the *a*, coming after *gʷ*, is palatalized to *i*; in the second, the reduplicating *-ay-* becomes *-i-* (see Type VIII).

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>gʷā'adi'm</i> slave | <i>gʷāgʷidgʷādi'm</i> |
| <i>tāyac</i> killer-whale | <i>tātītāyac</i> |

Irregular Plurals.

Several plurals listed above are somewhat irregular, but there has been no difficulty in assigning them to definite types. The two that follow are quite irregular. The second shows not only reduplication but breaking of *-a-* to *ā'a-*.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>djā'ādja'</i> tree | <i>djādjā'ām</i> |
| <i>māl'q'ʷ</i> fawn | <i>māmā'aliq'ʷ</i> |

A few nouns change the stem entirely in passing from singular to plural. Such are:—

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>sǎlt^u</i> woman | plural <i>nig^uáp'tai</i> |
| <i>sǎ'aslt^u</i> girl (diminutive of <i>sǎlt^u</i>) | <i>nínig^uáp'tai</i> (diminutive of <i>nig^uáp'tai</i>) |

Involving this same change of stem is:—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>sǎltux^u</i> married man | <i>nig^uáp'tahai'</i> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|

Rather different, presumably, is:—

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>tátr'nātcap'</i> leg | <i>tcúk!u'nātcap'</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|

which keeps the same suffix in the plural, while changing the stem.

Nouns without Plurals.

Quite a number of nouns were secured which form no plural. Some of these are reduplicated to begin with, and there is clearly a feeling, though one by no means consistently applied, against re-reduplication in forming plurals. Others, however, are such as might easily be reduplicated, were it usage to do so. It is possible that reduplicated plurals might have been given for some of these by other informants. Reduplicated nouns that form no plural are:—

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| <i>q^ui'g^uī</i> panther | <i>qwáqumī's</i> marten |
| <i>títictīcīc</i> owl | <i>mámstcō'm</i> mink |
| <i>ts!i'x^uts!i'x^u</i> fish-hawk | <i>qwi'qwi'</i> sea-gull |
| <i>qwi'qwā^{at}!Alā^ok'</i> butterfly | <i>xwáxwadjō'm'</i> fly |
| (probably diminutive; dim. plur. is found) | |

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| <i>pók^upók^u</i> liver | <i>xáxe'i</i> nit |
| <i>LáLāp^x</i> knife | <i>háiihei'</i> arrow |

Non-reduplicated nouns for which my informant would give no plurals are:—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>māyos</i> raccoon | <i>pīⁱk!</i> ground-hog |
| <i>q!ē'ēt</i> elk | <i>p!á'alats!^a</i> skunk |
| <i>p!óxō'^o</i> } raven | <i>'ámax'ídjō'^o</i> ant |
| <i>p!ah</i> } | <i>qéix</i> salmon-egg |
| <i>tc!eq^o</i> robin | <i>mó'os</i> head |

For "robin," *tc!áq'tc!eq'*, which might well enough be expected as plural, was explicitly denied. If necessary to express plurality in these nouns, *qax* or *qax* "many" can be juxtaposed before any of them.

IV. REDUPLICATED DIMINUTIVES OF NOUNS.

Diminutives in Comox, as in other Salish languages, are formed by means of reduplication. Reduplicated diminutive forms, however, differ from reduplicated plurals in that the reduplicating syllable repeats the first consonant of the stem, never also the second. Moreover, the vowel of the reduplicating syllable is formed according to different rules from that of the reduplicating syllable of plural forms. Further complications result from the internal changes to which the stem is often subjected, so that altogether a large number of more or less distinct types of diminutive formations may be recognized. It will be advantageous to list in a purely analytical way the various features that are found in diminutives, so that ready reference may be made to them when discussing the types as such.

Diminutivizing characteristics are:—

- (1.) *Reduplication* of initial consonant of stem, followed by
 - a. *Short* ϵ (i or \dot{i}). Two types of ϵ -reduplication may be recognized, according to whether ϵ is or is not accented. Thus, $mim\dot{o}'os$ from $m\dot{o}'os$ "head"; $qeq\dot{a}'ya'$ from $q\dot{a}'ya'$ "water."
 - b. *Long* \bar{e} (\hat{i} or \bar{i}), always accented. Thus $L!\hat{i}L!Axw\bar{a}'s$ from $L!Axw\bar{a}'s$ "dog-salmon."
 - c. \hat{e} , always accented. Thus $q!\hat{e}'e q!\bar{e}L!$ from $q!\hat{a}L!$ "land-otter."
 - d. \check{v} , which may or may not be accented. Thus, $l\check{v}l\check{k}\check{o}m\hat{i}n$ from $l\check{o}k\check{o}m\hat{i}n$ "bailer."
 - e. \bar{v} , which is regularly accented. Thus, $k!\delta k!\delta\dot{o}t!\delta$ from $k!\delta\delta\dot{o}t!\delta$ "porpoise."
 - f. *Short* a , accented or not. Thus, $L\acute{a}L\bar{i}'\acute{i}m'$ from $L\bar{i}'Am'$ "cockle."
 - g. *Long* \bar{a} . Thus, $dj\bar{a}dj\acute{a}^g\bar{v}\hat{i}n'$ from $dj\acute{g}\bar{v}\hat{i}n'$ "song."
 - h. *Long* $\bar{a}'a$. Thus, $s\bar{a}'ast!\bar{u}$ from $s\hat{a}t!\bar{u}$ "woman."
 - i. *Short* ϕ . Thus, $L!\phi L!\hat{a}'am\hat{i}'s$ from $L!Am's$ "house."
- (2.) *Glottal stop inserted in stem*. This may occur as
 - a. Breaking of (non-final) vowel or diphthong. Thus, $tc\check{i}c\acute{a}'ayac$ from $tc\acute{a}yac$ "hand."
 - b. Glottalizing of final consonant (generally m or n); this should probably include breaking of vowel when final. Thus, $l\delta\acute{t}b\phi'm'$ from $l\delta''\phi b\phi m'$ "small clam."

- (3.) *Quantitative vocalic changes* (increments). These include
- Lengthening of (last) stem vowel.* Thus, *tâtig^uāx^u* from *tā^uag^uax^u* "fern."
 - Change to wā or wa* of *u* of stem. Thus, diminutive plural *kwîkumkwā^umāqîn^u* from plural *kumkûmāqîn^u* "sea-lions."
 - Lengthening of inorganic A* (or *i*, *e*) to *î*. Thus, *xêxsim^u* from *xâsam* "box." Less often, full *a* is changed to *î* (cf. 4b), as in *kwêkwi^uim^u* from *kwâ^uam* "coiled storage basket."
 - Insertion of î.* This is probably but another form of 3c, inorganic *A* and absence of vowel being perhaps considered as phonologically equivalent. Thus, *qêqalî^uq^u* from *qâl^uq^u* "warrior."
 - Insertion of short vowel (A, i)* before syllable with lengthened vowel. Thus, *xê^exig^uicîn^u* (note second *i*) from *xâucîn^u* "bone."
 - Lengthening of A or a* (non-final) to *ā*. Thus, *q!wāq!wā^uadjix* from *q!wâ^uix* "wood."
- (4.) *Qualitative vocalic changes.* These include
- Umlaut of a to short e* (*i*). Thus, *xêxâ^uadjê^uic* from *xâ^uadjaic* "stone."
 - Umlaut of a* (or *ā*), rarely *o*, to long *ē* (*î*, *î*). Thus, *q!ê^uq!ê^uk^u* from *q!ak^u* "board."
 - Change of stem vowel to ā'a.* Thus, *tôtâ^uamic* from *tô^umic* "man."
- (5.) *Vocalic reduction.* Under this head may be grouped
- Shortening of stem vowel* before syllable with lengthened vowel (or inserted *î*). This shortening before lengthening is doubtless due to quantitative rhythm. Thus, *qwi^eqwi^u* (note second *i*) from *qwt^uqwi^u* "sea-gull. Such shortened syllables regularly lose their glottal stop, if there is one present, as in *qêqawêm^u* from *qâ^uum^u* "eye."
 - Syncope of stem vowel* after reduplicating syllable with accented vowel. Long vowels may thus fall out quite as readily as short ones. Thus, *sê^esp^uxos* from *sâpâxos* "horn."

These twenty-two diminutivizing features occur in various combinations, so that a large number of possible types of

diminutive formation may result. A considerable number of such types can be constructed from the available material, but this need not exemplify all that actually occur. As to which of the features listed are fundamental to Salish and which merely secondary in Comox or several Coast Salish languages, it is useless to speculate. Adequate comparative data are necessary. A few points of a comparative nature will be brought forward at the end of the paper. The various diminutive types will now be taken up in order, the main stress being laid on the form of the reduplicating syllable.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cé.

Various sub-types occur, according to whether the stem vowels remain unmodified or are subjected to comparatively slight changes.

Sub-type I a. Diminutive feature la only:—

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>mó'qs</i> head | diminutive <i>mímó'qs</i> |
| <i>q'tá'abas</i> wooden ball | <i>qéq'tá'abas</i> |
| <i>q!qá'áda</i> ear | <i>q!wéq!qá'áda</i> |
| <i>'áwāk'u</i> tobacco | <i>'é'awāk'u</i> |
| <i>qwáđí's</i> whale | <i>qwéqwáđí's</i> |
| <i>qđ'u'a'i</i> hemlock | <i>qwíqđ'u'a'i</i> |
| <i>sidjāqō'p'</i> basket cap | <i>sísidjāqō'p'</i> |
| <i>qéix</i> salmon-egg | <i>qéqeyix</i> (-eyi- probably merely variant of -ei-) |

Sub-type I b. Diminutive features la, 3c (or d):—

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| <i>máqsm'</i> nose | <i>mímáqsi'n'</i> |
| <i>djidis</i> tooth | <i>djidjidí's</i> |
| <i>tí'x'u</i> yellow cedar (<*tíyix'u) | <i>títíyix'u</i> |
| <i>qAl'q!</i> warrior | <i>qéqAlí'q!</i> |

Sub-type I c. Diminutive features la, 3a, 5a:—

| | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>hég'qs</i> chief | <i>héhég'ō's</i> |
|---------------------|------------------|

Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: feature 2a.

In these diminutives the first vowel of the stem is broken, the broken vowel taking the form $\check{v}'\bar{v}$. If the final vowel is long, it seems to be shortened ($-'\bar{a}$ becomes $-'\bar{a}$).

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| $p\check{i}'k!$ ground-hog | diminutive $p\check{i}p\check{i}'\check{i}k!$ |
| $q!\check{e}'\check{e}tc$ elk | $q!\check{e}q!\check{e}'\check{e}'\check{e}tc$ |
| $x\acute{a}'\bar{a}$ big clam | $x\acute{e}x\acute{a}'\bar{a}'^a$ |

Though the last diminutive seems to correspond exactly in form and rhythm to the second, the final $-\bar{a}'^a$ may perhaps here be better explained as breaking of the last vowel ($-\bar{a}$) of the stem (feature 2b).

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: features 3a or d, 5a, 2b.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| $q\acute{a}'um'$ eye | $q\acute{e}qaw\acute{e}m''$ (-ê- doubtless merely variant of -î-) |
| $qw\acute{i}'qw\acute{i}'$ sea-gull | $qw\acute{i}'qw\acute{i}'qw\acute{i}''$ |

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: features 4a, 3c, 2b.

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| $kw\acute{a}'am$ coiled storage basket | $kw\acute{e}kw\acute{i}'\acute{i}m'$ |
|--|--------------------------------------|

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: feature 5b.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| $L!kuin\acute{a}s$ heart | $L!L!kuin\acute{a}s$ |
| $x\acute{a}p\bar{a}'^i$ red cedar | $x\acute{e}xp\bar{a}'^i$ |

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: features 5b, 4b.

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| $qw\acute{a}s\acute{a}m$ woolly grouse | $qw\acute{e}q''^u s\acute{e}m-ql$ |
| $p\acute{a}x\acute{a}i'$ creek | $p\acute{i}p'x\acute{e}'^i$ |

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: features 5b, 3c, 2a.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| $x\acute{a}s\acute{a}m$ box | $x\acute{e}x\acute{s}\acute{i}m'$ |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: ce.

In this type the reduplicating *e* is unaccented. According to whether or not the stem is modified in regard to vocalic length or quality, various sub-types may be recognized.

Sub-type VIII a. Diminutive feature la only:—

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>ts'átc'ilbai</i> spruce | diminutive <i>ts'its'átc'ilbai</i> |
| <i>qá'ya'</i> water | <i>qeqá'ya'</i> |
| <i>qô'qwai</i> speaker | <i>qwiqô'qwai</i> |

Here probably also belongs *qwi^eqwást!Alástk'* "butterfly."

Sub-type VIII b. Diminutive features la, 5a (accent on third syllable of diminutive):—

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>sayá'ada</i> neck | <i>s̄siyá'ada</i> (<i>sa</i> -shortened to <i>s_A</i> -, which, coming before <i>y</i> , has to be palatalized to <i>s̄j</i> -) |
| <i>xā'aidatc</i> stump | <i>xexá'á.idatc</i> (<i>-a.i</i> - probably equivalent to <i>-āi</i> -) |

Sub-type VIII c. Diminutive features la, 3a (or c):—

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>sá'yál</i> lake | <i>s̄isá'yāl</i> |
| <i>mást!in'</i> louse | <i>mimást!in'</i> |

Sub-type VIII d. Diminutive features la, 4 b:—

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>pók'^upók'^u</i> liver | <i>pipúk'^upīⁱk'^u</i> |
|---|---|

Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: ce; stem: feature 2a.

Here again the reduplicating vowel is an unaccented *e*. The stem, however, is characterized by the breaking of one of its vowels. According to whether or not umlaut also takes place, two sub-types are to be recognized.

Sub-type IX a. Diminutive features la, 2a:—

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>tcáyac</i> hand | <i>tc̄itcá'yac</i> |
|--------------------|--------------------|

Sub-type IX b. Diminutive features 1a, 2a, 4a:—

xá'adjaic stone diminutive *xəxá'adjé'ic*

As irregular representative of this type may perhaps be considered:—

qə'n'gen' duck *qəqA'ád-ól* (built on
unreduplicated simplex)

Type X. Reduplicating Syllable: cč.

Various sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether or not the stem vowels are quantitatively modified.

Sub-type X a. Diminutive feature 1b only:—

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <i>tc!əl</i> rain | <i>tc!t!tc!əl</i> |
| <i>p!éq^vāi</i> halibut | <i>p!i'p!ig^vāi</i> |
| <i>ts!oxó''o</i> codfish | <i>ts!i'ts!oxó''o</i> |
| <i>L!Axwā'ⁱ</i> dog-salmon | <i>L!iL!Axwā'ⁱ</i> |
| <i>xā^ap!</i> baby-basket | <i>xč^exā^ap!</i> |
| <i>p!óqō'^o</i> raven | <i>p!i'p!óqō'^o</i> |
| <i>y!p'i'x^u</i> hole | <i>yčy!p!i'x^u</i> |
| <i>L!p!ts!ā'^a</i> yellow-cedar bark | <i>L!i'L!p!ts!ā'^a</i> |
| blanket | |
| <i>t!t!t!t!c!c</i> little owl | <i>t!t!t!t!t!c!c</i> |
| <i>k^väck^väc</i> bluejay | <i>k^vi'k^väc</i> |
| <i>qóqow!i'm'</i> small breast feathers | <i>qw!i'quw!i'm'</i> |

In the last two examples the diminutive is formed, not from the already reduplicated simplex, but from the unreduplicated form abstracted from it.

Sub-type X b. Diminutive features 1b, 3c:—

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>L!pāt!l</i> bag | <i>L!č^eL!pāt!l</i> |
| <i>tc!eq^x</i> robin | <i>tc!i'tc!i'eq^x</i> |
| <i>kúmāqin'</i> sea-lion | <i>kwi'kumāqin'</i> |
| <i>dj!ic!n'</i> foot | <i>dji'dj!ic!n'</i> |
| <i>l!Aq!^u</i> bow | <i>l!i'l!Aq!^u</i> |

Sub-type X c. Diminutive features 1b, 5a, 3c (or 3a):—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>q!wāt'ī'tc!n'</i> humpback salmon | <i>q!wčq!utī'tc!n'</i> |
| <i>l!á'abuxwāi</i> gooseberry bush | <i>l!i'l!Amuxwāi</i> |
| <i>p!á'alats!^o</i> skunk | <i>p!čp!A'lāts!</i> (mis- heard for <i>-p!Al-?</i>) |

Sub-type X d. Diminutive features lb, 3e, 3c:—

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>xáucín</i> bone | diminutive <i>xéxig^uicín</i> (-ig ^u i- < * _{-AWA-}) |
|--------------------|---|

It should be noted that this type of diminutive formation, while externally similar to Type VIII of plural formation (cf., e.g., *xéxāp!* "little basket" with *q!éⁱq!āik^u* "eagles"), is in reality quite distinct in origin, the latter, as we have seen, tracing its reduplicating -ē- to -Ay- and being limited to nouns with *i*-diphthongs.

Type XI. Reduplicating Syllable: *cē*; *stem:* feature 2b.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>má!</i> <i>āi</i> horse clam | <i>mē'm_{At!}āⁱ</i> (<i>mē</i> - perhaps misheard for <i>mē</i> -) |
| <i>há!hei</i> (<i>há!hei</i> ?) arrow | <i>hē!heiheiⁱ</i> |
| <i>q!As'Adāi</i> buckskin shirt | <i>q!é^eq!as'adāⁱ</i> |

Type XII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cē*; *stem:* 4b.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>q!ák^u</i> board | <i>q!é^eq!ē^ek^u</i> |
| <i>aL</i> leggings | <i>ē'ē_L</i> |

Type XIII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cē*; *stem:* feature 5b.

There are two sub-types, according to whether or not the stem vowel is modified.

Sub-type XIII a. Diminutive features l b, 5 b:—

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak | <i>q!éq!p!xwai</i> |
| <i>p!éⁱixāi</i> alder | <i>p!iⁱp!ixāi</i> |
| <i>L!ā^aq!wāi</i> fish-gill | <i>L!iⁱL!q!wāi</i> |
| <i>kúp-ū^umî^ux^u</i> hill | <i>kŵk^up-īⁱt</i> |
| <i>lāq!wāinop</i> cedar-bark mat | <i>l!lⁱq!wāinopⁱ</i> |
| <i>t!éⁱibāi</i> wild-cherry bush | <i>t!iⁱt!bāi</i> |
| <i>t!Aqⁱt!Áqāi</i> dog-wood | <i>t!t!qāi</i> |

In the last example the diminutive is built up on the unduplicated stem abstracted from the already reduplicated simplex. The broken stem vowels -ēⁱ- of "alder" and "wild-

cherry bush" disappear in the diminutive apparently without trace of ' , but this may in part be due to following *q!* and *p!*, which imply ' . With these contrast:—

sá'an' cohoe salmon diminutive *sís'ad-ōl'* .

Here the *-a'a-* is treated, not as a broken vowel, but as two vowels with intervening consonant.

Sub-type XIII b. Diminutive features 1b, 5b, 3c:—

lÁq!As mountain-goat blanket

lí'l'q!ís

L!Áq!acin' moccasins

L!é°L!q!acên' (mis-
heard for *-ên'?*)

Type XIV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé;* stem: features 5a, 3c, 2b.

t!ég°em sun, moon

t!í't!ig°ím'

-i- is for *-a-*, because of following *g°*.

Type XV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé;* stem: features 5b, 4a.

sAQ!Ák'u war-club

sí'sqék'u

Type XVI. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé'.*

qā'°qa' rush mat

qé'°qā'°

tōt'°x°lal necklace

té't'°x°lal

The diminutive of "necklace," as often happens with nouns reduplicated to begin with, is built up on the implied unreduplicated stem. The same applies to the diminutive of "rush mat," except that here it is the reduplicating syllable of the simplex, which doubtless more nearly represents the simple stem, that is taken as the base of the diminutive form.

Type XVII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé';* stem: feature 4a or b.

Two sub-types are found, according to whether or not there are at the same time quantitative changes in the stem.

Sub-type XVII a. Diminutive features lc, 4b:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>q!á^aL!</i> land-otter | diminutive <i>q!é'^eq!ē^eL!</i> |
| <i>q!á^asa'</i> sea-otter | <i>q!é'^eq!ē^es</i> (note loss of -a') |

Sub-type XVII b. Diminutive features, lc, 5a, 4a (or b):—

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>qé'w^Ax</i> steel-head salmon | <i>qé'qeg^eex</i> |
|--|-----------------------------|

-g^e- is from original -w-. It is not clear whether -qeg^eex represents *-qewē^ex or *-qewēx.

Type XVIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; stem: features 3c, 2b.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>q!wát'</i> AM river | <i>q!wé^eq!wat'ím'</i> (<i>q!wé^e-</i> not equivalent to <i>q!wé^e-</i> ; see diminutive plural type iv) |
|------------------------|---|

Type XIX. Reduplicating Syllable: c'é; stem: feature 5b.

There are two sub-types, the latter with modified stem vowel.

Sub-type XIX a. Diminutive features lc, 5b:—

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>sāpāxos</i> horn | <i>sé'^esp'xos</i> |
| <i>héq'sā^amin'</i> pole for poling canoe | <i>hé'^ehq'sā^amin'</i> |

Sub-type XIX b. Diminutive features lc, 5b, 3c:—

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>!ákóm'</i> beaver (-kə- doubt-less for -kwA-) | <i>!é'^eet!kwím'</i> |
|--|--------------------------------|

Type XX. Reduplicating Syllable: cč.

Here again there are two sub-types, the latter with vocalic reduction.

Sub-type XX a. Diminutive feature ld:—

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>xāug^aas</i> grizzly bear | <i>xáxāug^aas</i> |
|--|-----------------------------|

Here probably belongs also *xwáxadjō'm'* "fly."

Sub-type XX b. Diminutive features ld, 5a, 3c or d:—

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>!ā^aq^eét!^a</i> herring | <i>!álig^eét!^a</i> (-i- < -A-) |
| <i>!áidatctAN</i> woman's cedar-bark skirt | <i>!á!đatctĭn</i> (-ĭ- < -Ai-) |
| <i>!ó'^emt'</i> paddle | <i>!ó!^e!Abi't'</i> |

Type XXI. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; stem: feature 5b.

There are three sub-types, based on differences in the further treatment of the stem.

Sub-type XXI a. Diminutive features 1d, 5b:—

*yáxai'*ⁱ pack-basket diminutive *yá.xai'*ⁱ

Sub-type XXI b. Diminutive features 1d, 5b, 3a:—

*waxá'ts!*ⁱ pipe *wauxá'ts!*ⁱ

Sub-type XXI c. Diminutive features 1d, 5a, 5b:—

lókō'mín bailer *lólkō'mín*

Type XXII. Reduplicating Syllable cǃ; stem: features 3a or c, and 2b.

There are two sub-types, depending on whether or not the first vowel of the stem is reduced.

Sub-type XXII a. Diminutive features 1d, 3c, 2b:—

*sáts!*_{Am} tyee salmon *sas'á'ts!*ⁱ'm'

Sub-type XXII b. Diminutive features 1d, 5a, 3a, 2b:—

sá'ídjA' leaf *sasídjā'*^a (-ī- reduced from -a'í-)

Type XXIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; stem: features 5a, 3a or c.

k!ó'dōt!^o porpoise

māyos raccoon

tá'ag^uax^u fern

tá'ag^uin salmon-spear

g^uā'di'm slave

k!ók!odōt!^o

māmīyō^s (-i- palatalized from -A-, reduced from -ā-)

tātīg^uāx^u (-i- palatalized from -A-, reduced from -ā'a-)

tātīg^uin (dit.)

g^uāg^uidi'm (-i- palatalized from -A-, reduced from -ā^a-)

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lā^adak^u</i> skin | diminutive <i>lālidā^ak^u</i> (dit.) |
| <i>āsx^u</i> hair-seal | <i>'ā'asîx^u</i> |
| <i>ts!āmugt</i> cloud | <i>ts!āts!Imaqtūl</i> (- <i>I</i> - palatalized from - <i>A</i> -, reduced from - <i>ā</i> -; - <i>MA</i> - merely vari- ant of - <i>mu</i> -) |
| <i>ōlqaiⁱ</i> snake | <i>'ō'ōlqaiⁱ</i> |
| <i>'āmax^uidjō^o</i> ant | <i>'ā'Amamax^uidjō^o</i> |

In the last two examples the final vowel is considered quantitatively long and hence cannot be further lengthened. Quite irregular is:—

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>tāyac</i> killer-whale | <i>tātīyac</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------|

The long -*ī*- and the short -*ā*- of the stem are the exact reverse of what would be expected (**tātīyāc*, cf. *tātīg^uāx^u* above).

Type XXIV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cŕ*; *stem:* features 5a, 4b.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>tclatc!ā^a!ān^u</i> mouse | <i>tc!ātcl!ī!īn^u</i> (- <i>i</i> - pal- atalized form of - <i>A</i> -, reduced from - <i>ā^a</i> -) |
|--|--|

The diminutive, as often, is based on the unreduplicated stem abstracted from the already reduplicated simplex.

Type XXV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cŕ*; *stem:* features 5a, 2b

Two sub-types are to be recognized, depending on the treatment of the last vowel of the stem.

Sub-type XXV a. Diminutive features 1a, 5a, 2b:—

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lō^o'bōm^u</i> small clam | <i>lōlō'bō'm^u</i> |
| <i>k!ōyōkōbīⁱn</i> fisherman | <i>k!ōk!ōyōkōbīⁱn^u</i> |

Sub-type XXV b. Diminutive features 1e, 5a, 3a, 2b:—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>xā^a'wa</i> fur seal | <i>xāx_{AW}ā^a</i> |
| <i>sā^a'ba</i> mussel | <i>sās_{AB}ā^a</i> |
| <i>tc!é'ādō</i> dog | <i>tc!é'ātcl!idō^o</i> (- <i>i</i> - pala- talized from - <i>A</i> -, re- duced from - <i>e'ā</i> -) |

In the last example -*e'ā* is treated as a reduplicating long vowel.

Type XXVI. Reduplicating Syllable: c̣; stem: feature 5b.

Three sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether the stem undergoes no further change or is further modified.

Sub-type XXVI a. Diminutive features 1e, 5b:—

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>sōṣin'</i> mouth | diminutive <i>sōsṣin'</i> |
| <i>p!āq!adātc</i> goose | <i>p!āp!q!adātc</i> |
| <i>ṭi'hā'dān'</i> chief's wife | <i>ṭi'hā'dān'</i> |
| <i>sōp̣adātc</i> tail | <i>sō^usp̣adātc</i> |
| <i>xwā^sabāi</i> soapberry bush | <i>xwā^ssabāi</i> |
| <i>ṭi^xsal</i> tongue | <i>ṭi^xsal</i> |
| <i>ōsā'i</i> huckleberry bush | 'ō ^s Asā'i (-'ōs- cannot be further reduced than -'As-) |
| <i>ṃi^xāl</i> bear | <i>ṃi^xmēxāl</i> (-E- is merely glide) |
| <i>ṣṭp!Aṃin'</i> shinny stick | <i>ṣṭⁱsp!Aṃiⁿ'</i> |
| <i>ṃitāli</i> beaver-tooth die | <i>ṃi^m(i)tāli</i> (-I- is merely glide) |
| <i>k^v!i^{k^v}āyu</i> oar | <i>k^v!i^{k^v}!k^vāyu</i> |
| <i>ṣi^eqet'</i> dug hole, well | <i>ṣṭⁱsqet'</i> |

“Bear,” “shinny stick,” “beaver-tooth die,” and “oar,” which have short stem-vowels, are perhaps better listed with type X.

Sub-type XXVI b. Diminutive features 1e, 5b, 3c:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kō^sAd'</i> star | <i>kōk'^sād'</i> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|

Sub-type XXVI c. Diminutive features 1e, 5b, 5a, 3a:—

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>ṭi^e'dē^eqwai</i> salmon-berry bush | <i>ṭi^eṭ!dāqwāi</i> |
|---|---------------------------------|

Type XXVII. Reduplicating Syllable: c̣; stem: features 5 b, 4 b.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ṭi^āq!at'</i> mountain | <i>ṭi^{āt}!q!ē^t'</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--|

Type XXVIII. Reduplicating Syllable: c̣; stem: features 5b (or a), 3a, 2a.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ṭā^aq!wa'</i> devil-fish | <i>ṭāt^aq!wā'^a</i> |
| <i>ḍjā^adja'</i> tree | <i>ḍjāḍjīḍjā'^a</i> (-i- palatalized from -A-, reduced from -ā' ^a -) |

already reduplicated (cf. reduplicated nouns which form no reduplicated plural), yet not all. Of those formed from unre-duplicated nouns, some have diminutive reduplication at the same time, others not. By an interesting phonetic law of rhythmic balance $-\bar{o}l(t^u)$ is suffixed to stems whose last vowel is short, $-ol(t^u)$ to those whose last vowel is long. The examples obtained of the suffix are:—

1. $-\bar{o}l(t^u)$ *hêw^Aqen'* swan*mî^emau* cat*q!âik^u* eagle*qê'n'qen'* duck*ts!îtsq!ê^enas* chicken hawk*tc!eq^x* robin*sâ'an'* coho salmon*xôp'xôp'* humming bird*g^{vî}i'g^{vî}i* pantherdiminutive *hew^aqâdôl**mî^emin'ôl**{ q!âikôl**{ q!êq!Auq!âikôl*

little eagles

*qeq^A'âdôl**ts!îtsq!ê^enasôl^u**tc!îtc!eq^xtc!éqôl^u* little

robins

*{ sîs'adôl**{ sîsqôq'âdôl plur.**xôp'xôpôl^u**g^{vî}i'g^{vî}iyûl*

The last two seem irregular as regards rhythmic balance; perhaps they were respectively misheard for **xôp'xôpôl^u* and **g^{vî}i'g^{vî}iyûl*. $-\bar{o}l$ has also been found in *mîm'inr'ôl k^u mâmstcô'm* "little mink."

2. $-ol(t^u)$ *hô'mhô'm* blue grouse*qwâqumî's* marten*qwâsAm* woolly grouse*ts!î'x^uts!îx^u* fish-hawk*kwa'kwâ^adjô'* grey-squirrel*hô'mhô'mol**qwâqumî'sol^u**qwêq^usê^emôl**ts!î'x^uts!îxwôl**kwa'kwâ^adjôl*

V. DOUBLY REDUPLICATED DIMINUTIVE PLURALS OF NOUNS.

The plurals of diminutives are, as a rule, doubly reduplicated, the first reduplicating syllable expressing the diminutive idea, the second that of plurality; the first reduplicating syllable is almost invariably of diminutive type, the second of plural type. Hence diminutive plurals are morphologically, and psychologically, diminutivized plurals, not pluralized diminutives. While they may be said, on the whole, to be formed from the plural of the simplex, the diminutive singular has often influence on the form of the diminutive plural, both as regards the inner stem changes and the vowel of the reduplicating syllable. Thus diminutive plurals may be said to combine, roughly speaking, the characteristics of both the plural and diminutive of the simplex. In order better to understand the formation of the diminutive plural and to assist in cross-referencing, the types to which the non-diminutive plural and the diminutive singular belong will be indicated in the following lists.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; followed by plural of simplex.

The reduplicating syllable is analogous to that of diminutive types X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XV. According to whether or not the remaining part of the word is somewhat modified from the plural of the simplex, sub-types may be recognized.

Sub-type I a. Plural of simplex unchanged:—

| | plur. I. | dim. v. | dim. plur. |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|
| | | | <i>L!i'LEk'-</i> <i>L!ikuinas</i> |
| <i>ts!oxó''o</i> codfish | dit. | x a | <i>ts!its!oxts!óxó''o</i> |
| <i>L!Axwā'i</i> dog-salmon | dit. | dit. | <i>L!iL!axL!Axwā'i</i> |
| <i>L!p!ts!ā'a</i> yellow cedar | | | |
| bark basket | dit. | dit. | <i>L!iL!Ap'L!Ap!ts!ā'a</i> |
| <i>tc!éq^z</i> robin | no plur. | x b. | |
| | (type I implied in dim. plur.) | | <i>tc!t!tc!eq^ztc!éqōlt''u</i> |
| <i>aL</i> leggings | I. (or VI.) | XII. | <i>é'al'al</i> |
| <i>kúpá''má''x''u</i> hill | dit. | XIII a. | <i>kwi'kup'kúp-ī't'</i> (with <i>-ī't'</i> as in diminutive singular) |

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|---|
| <i>sá'ídjA'</i> leaf | plur. VIII. | dim. XXII b. | dim. plur. <i>sīsīsá'ídjA'</i> |
| <i>djā'dja'</i> tree | irregular | XXVIII. | <i>djēdjēdjā'dja'</i> (built on plur. of type VIII) |
| <i>y'p'ix'</i> hole | IX. | X a. | <i>yēyēp'y'p'ix'</i> (built on plur. of type I) |

Sub-type I b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 3a, c, or d :—

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|---------|--|
| <i>djīdis</i> tooth | I. | I b. | <i>djīdjīiddjīdī's</i> |
| <i>L!pātīl</i> bag | dit. | X b. | <i>L!īL!Ap'L!Āpātīl</i> |
| <i>djīcin'</i> foot | dit. | dit. | <i>djīdjīisdjīcīn'</i> |
| <i>LĀq!As</i> mountain-goat blanket | dit. | XIII b. | <i>līLĀq!lĀq!īs</i> |
| <i>L!Āq!acīn'</i> moccasin | dit. | dit. | <i>L!ēL!Āq!L!Āq!acīn'</i> (-īn' misheard for -in' ?) |
| <i>t!Ākōm'</i> beaver | I. | XIX b. | <i>t!īt!Āk'ut!Ākōm'</i> |
| <i>t!ō'mt'</i> paddle | II a. | XX b. | <i>t!īt!Āmt!ō'bt'it'</i> |
| <i>waxā'ts!i</i> pipe | dit. | XXI b. | <i>wīwĀxwaxā'ts!ī'</i> |
| <i>tā^aq!wa'</i> devil-fish | dit. | XXVIII. | <i>tītA'q'tā^aq!wā'</i> (-q' misheard for -q! ?) |
| <i>djītg'in'</i> song | III b. | XXX b. | <i>djīdjīūdjītg'in'</i> |

Sub-type I c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 5a:—

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|---------|-----------------------|
| <i>lōkō'mīn</i> bailer | V. | XXI c. | <i>tīlūk'lōkō'mīn</i> |
| <i>tī'hā'dān'</i> chief's wife | VI. | XXVI a. | <i>tītāhtīhā'dān'</i> |

Sub-type I d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 2b:—

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------------|
| <i>lō''ōbōm'</i> small clam | II b. | XXV a. | <i>tīlīmō''ōbō'm'</i> |
| <i>k!ōyōkōbī'n</i> fisherman | VIII. | dit. | <i>k!wīk!wīk!ōyōkōbī'n'</i> |

Sub-type I e. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4b:—

t!á^aq!at' mountain plur. II a. dim. XXVIII.
dim. plur. *t!ét!Aq!t!á^aq!ēⁱ'*

Sub-type I f. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 3b, 2a, 3c:—

kúmāqin' sea-lion I. X b. *kwíkumkwá^amāqîn'*

A couple of aberrant diminutive plurals with *cē-* are given under type II f.

Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; followed by plural of simplex.

The reduplicating syllable is analogous to that of diminutive types I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX. Sub-types are to be recognized here as in type I.

Sub-type II a. Plural of simplex unchanged:—

| | | | |
|---|-------|---------|---|
| <i>qwAdiⁱs</i> hump- | | | |
| backed whale | I. | I a. | <i>qwéqwaD' qwAdiⁱs</i> |
| <i>qð^u'aⁱ</i> hemlock | dit. | dit. | <i>qwiqðqð^u'aⁱ</i> |
| <i>'áwāk^u</i> tobacco | dit. | dit. | <i>'é'AU'áwāk^u</i> |
| <i>xApāⁱ</i> red cedar | dit. | V. | <i>xexAp'xApāⁱ</i> |
| <i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak | dit. | XIII a. | <i>q!éq!Ap!q!áp!xwai</i> |
| <i>q'tā'abas</i> wooden ball | | | |
| used in game | II a. | I a. | <i>qeqát'q'tā'abas</i> |
| <i>qé'n'qen'</i> duck | dit. | IX b. | <i>qeqAd'qên^s</i> (based on unreduplicated simplex) |
| <i>qá^aqa'</i> rush mat | dit. | XVI. | <i>qeqAq'qá^aqa'</i> |
| <i>tót'x^ulat</i> necklace | dit. | XVI. | <i>títAx^utót'x^ulat</i> (re- duplicating sylla- ble for plurality based on unredu- licated form of simplex) |

| | | | |
|---|------------|--------------|--|
| <i>q!ā^aL!</i> land-otter plur. | II a. dim. | XVII a. dim. | plur. <i>q!eq!AL!q!ā^aL!</i> |
| <i>q!ā^asa'</i> sea-otter | dit. | dit. | <i>q!eq!Asq!ā^as</i> (with loss of -a', as in dim. sing.) |
| <i>xā^a'wa</i> fur seal | dit. | XXV b. | <i>xēxauxā^a'wa</i> |
| <i>sā^a'ba'</i> mussel | dit. | dit. | <i>sīsamsā^a'ba'</i> |
| <i>xwāsAbāi</i> soapberry bush | dit. | XXVI a. | <i>xwēxwāsxwāsAbāi</i> |
| <i>p!āq!Adātc</i> goose | dit. | dit. | <i>p!ep!Aq!p!ā^aq!Adātc</i> |
| <i>L!ā'ā'ō'm'</i> wolf | dit. | XXXI. | <i>L!ēL!ĀL!ā'ā'ō'm'</i> |
| <i>ts!ātcl'īlbaī</i> spruce | II b. | VIII a. | <i>ts!its!itc'ts!ātcl'īlbaī</i> |
| <i>k'āck^uāc</i> bluejay | dit. | X a. | <i>k'vāk^uck^uāc</i> (based on unreduplicated form of simplex) |
| <i>sāpāxos</i> horn | dit. | XIX a. | <i>sīsīpsāpāxos</i> |
| <i>tā'ag^uax^u</i> fern | III a. | XXIII. | <i>tītōtā'ag^uax^u</i> |
| <i>hēg^uos</i> chief | III b. | I c. | <i>hēhō^uhē^ug^uos</i> |
| <i>xāug^uas</i> grizzly bear | V. | XX a. | <i>xēxauxāug^uas</i> |
| <i>hēq'sā^amin'</i> pole for poling canoe | VI. | XIX a. | <i>hēhāq'hēq'sā^amin'</i> |
| <i>q!ōa'āda</i> ear | VII. | I a. | <i>q!wēq!q!ōa'āda</i> |
| <i>sidjāqō'p'</i> basket hat | VIII. | I a. | <i>sīsīsidjāqō'p'</i> |
| <i>tāyac</i> killer whale | XI | XXIII | <i>tītītā^ayac</i> |

(plur. of type VIII implied in dim. plur.)

Sub-type II b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 3c or d:—

| | | | |
|--|--------|---------|---|
| <i>qĀl'q!</i> warrior | I. | I b. | <i>qeqAlqAl^u'e q!</i> |
| <i>lĀq!^u</i> bow | dit. | X b. | <i>līlĀq!^ul^u'e q!^u</i> |
| <i>q!wĀt'ī^utcin'</i> hump-back salmon | dit. | X c. | <i>q!wēq!wĀt'q!wĀ-t'ī^utcin'</i> |
| <i>xĀucin'</i> bone | dit. | X d. | <i>xēxauxāucin'</i> |
| <i>mā^atc!in'</i> louse | II a. | VIII c. | <i>mīmAtc!mā^atc!in'</i> |
| <i>ās^u</i> hair seal | dit. | XXIII. | <i>'ē'As'ās^u</i> |
| <i>tā'ag^uin</i> salmon spear | III a. | dit. | <i>tītōtā'ag^uin</i> |

Sub-type II c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 3a or c, and 2b:—

| | plur. I. | dim. VII. | dim. plur. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|--|
| <i>xásam</i> box | | | <i>xəxásxásim'</i> |
| <i>qwásam</i> woolly grouse | dit. | VI. | <i>qwequsqúsim'</i> (-qus- probably merely variant of -qwas-) |
| <i>q!ás'adāi</i> buckskin shirt | dit. | XI. | <i>q!eq!Asq!ás'adā'i</i> |
| <i>lî^vam'</i> cockle | dit. (or VIII.) | XXIX a. | <i>lîlîⁱlāi'im'</i> (with irregular lengthen- ing of -î ⁱ = -ai- to -āi-) |
| <i>hêw^Aqen'</i> swan | II a. | -ōl | <i>hêhAu hêw^aqēn'</i> |
| <i>mát!āi</i> horse clam | dit. | XI. | <i>məmAt!mā^{a!}!āⁱ</i> |
| <i>qā'um'</i> eye | V. | III. | <i>qeqqā'ōm'</i> (-qo- heard for -qau-, or perhaps for -qau- —see type III) |

Sub-type II d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4a or b:—

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|------|--|
| <i>páxai'</i> creek | I. | VI. | <i>pîpÁxpxēⁱ</i> |
| <i>q!ák^u</i> board | dit. | XII. | <i>q!eq!ak^uq!ē^k'^u</i> |
| <i>sAQ'Ák^u</i> war-club | dit. | XV. | <i>sîsÁq'sAQek^u</i> |

Sub-type II e. Reduplicating syllable of plural of simplex changed to *cau*-:—

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|-----|---|
| <i>xá'ā</i> big clam | I. | II. | <i>xəxauxā'A</i> (note change of <i>xá'ā</i> - to <i>-xā'a</i> , perhaps due to rhythmic anal- ogy of dim. sing. <i>xêxá'ā'A</i>) |
| <i>q!āik^u</i> eagle | VIII. | -ōl | <i>q!eq!Auq!āik-ōl</i> |

These strange diminutive plurals can hardly be explained otherwise than as formed by analogy of such diminutive plurals as *xəxəuxā'wa* "little fur seals," *xəxəuxāug^{vas}* "little bears," and *xəxəuxəucⁱⁿ* "little bones," where *-xəu-* (*-xəu-*) is etymologically justified. The parallelism of *xā'ā* "big clam" and *xā^a'wa* "fur seal" seems particularly plausible.

Sub-type II f. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4c (for convenience of comparison one form with *cē* is included):—

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------|---|
| <i>t!ē'ibāi</i> wild cherry | plur. I (or VIII). | dim. XIII a. | dim. plur. |
| bush | | | <i>t!ēt!Amt!ā'abāi</i> (really belongs to type I; based on reduplicated plural of type II) |
| <i>qé'w^Ax</i> steel-head | II. | XVII b. | |
| salmon | | | <i>qeqəuqā'ag^vé^ex</i> (<i>-g^vé^ex</i> as in dim. sing.) |
| <i>t!iⁱx^u</i> yellow cedar | VIII. | I b. | <i>t!iⁱq^tā'ayix^u</i> (<i>t!iⁱx^u</i> > * <i>t!iyix^u</i> , <i>t!i-</i> being modified to <i>tā'a-</i> ; <i>-tq-</i> , cf. type II e, is peculiar and is probably due to analogy of <i>t!iⁱq^tā'-ag^vax^u</i> "little ferns") |

Another diminutive plural with erratic *-q-* vowel (in both reduplicating syllable for plurality and stem) belonging to type I, is:—

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----|---------|---------------------|
| <i>sā'an'</i> cohoe sal- | I. | XIII a. | <i>sīsqsq'ād-ōl</i> |
| mon | | | |

The material at hand does not permit to see what analogies have operated here.

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: ce; reduplicating vowel of plural of simplex shortened.

A new feature is here introduced, the shortening of the long reduplicating vowel characteristic of the plural. Sub-types are here also to be recognized.

Sub-type III a. Plural of simplex not otherwise modified:—

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>xōp'xōp'</i> humming bird | plur. I. | dim. -ōt' ^u | dim. plur. | <i>xwəxōp'xōp'</i> (based on unreduplicated simplex) |
| <i>tā'gvet!^a</i> herring | III b. | XX b. | <i>tētā'gvet!^a</i> | |
| <i>tā'dak'^u</i> skin | III b. | XXIII. | <i>tētā'dak'^u</i> | |
| <i>qā'ya'</i> water | VIII. | VIII a. | <i>qəqəqā'ya'</i> | |
| <i>xā'a'idatc</i> stump | I. | VIII b. | <i>xəxəxā'idatc</i> | |
| | (type VIII implied in dim. plur.) | | | |
| <i>sā'yāl</i> lake | VIII. | VIII c. | <i>sīsīsā'yāl</i> | |
| <i>tā'idatctAN</i> woman's cedar-bark skirt | dit. | XX b. | <i>tētā'idatctAN</i> | |

Sub-type III b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 2a:—

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| <i>tā'yac</i> hand | VIII. | IX a. | <i>tētētā'yac</i> |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|

Sub-type III c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 2a, and 3b or f:—

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------|------------------------------------|
| <i>sāyā'ada</i> neck | VIII. | VIII b. | <i>sīsīsā'yā'ada</i> |
| <i>kwūdjak'^u</i> trout | dit. | XXIX b. | <i>kwīkwīkwā'djak'^u</i> |

Sub-type III d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 4a and 2a:—

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| <i>xā'adjaic</i> stone | VIII. | IX b. | <i>xəxəxā'adje'ic</i> |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------|

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; followed by simplex.

It seems that a reduplicating syllable with ê tends to be considered the morphological equivalent of double reduplication (see plural type X, diminutive type XVI), in this case of combined diminutive and plural reduplication. Various sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether the reduplicating syllable is followed by the unmodified (or modified) simplex, the modified form characteristic of the diminutive, or by a form still further modified.

Sub-type IV a. Simplex unchanged:—

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|--|
| <i>p!ê'ixāi</i> alder | plur. I. (or VIII). | dim. XIII a. | dim. plur. <i>p!êp!ê'ixāi</i> |
| <i>L!Ams</i> house | dit. | XXXII b. | <i>L!ê'°L!Ams</i> |
| <i>mô'os</i> hand | no plur. | I a. | <i>mê'mô'os</i> (may also be considered as belonging to type IV b) |

Sub-type IV b. Simplex modified by diminutive feature 5a:—

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------|-------|---|
| <i>tc!ê'ādō</i> dog | II b. | XXVb. | <i>tc!ê'tc!in'ām'</i> (irregular in that -ō of stem is dropped; with -ām' cf. perhaps -ā'm of <i>djādjiā'm</i> 'trees') |
|---------------------|-------|-------|---|

Sub-type IV c. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê:—

| | | | |
|---|-------|---------|-------------------------|
| <i>xwáxwadjō'm'</i> fly (dim. in form) | | | <i>xwê'°xwadjō'm'</i> |
| <i>qwi'qwā't!Alā'k'</i> butterfly (dim. in form) | | | <i>qwê'qwā't!Alā'k'</i> |
| <i>m!qsin'</i> nose | I. | I b. | <i>mê'm!qsi'n</i> |
| <i>kwá'am</i> coiled storage basket | dit. | IV. | <i>kwê'°kwí'ím'</i> |
| <i>q!wát'Am</i> river | dit. | XVIII. | <i>q!wê'°q!wat'ím'</i> |
| <i>t!x'sal</i> tongue | II b. | XXVI a. | <i>tê'tx'sal</i> |

Sub-type IV d. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê; stem further modified by diminutive features 5a and 3c:—

q!wá'ix wood plur. I. dim. xxxa. dim. plur.
q!wê'eq!wadjîx

Sub-type IV e. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê; stem further modified by diminutive feature 5b:—

sáts!Am tyee sal- II a. XXII a.
mon *sê'ests!i'm'*

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; followed by plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 5a and 3a:—

t!ê'e'dêeqwai salmon- plur. II a. dim. xxvi c. dim. plur.
berry bush *t!ê't!Ant!An'qwāi*
(-êe- is lost, cf.
diminutive feature
5 b)

sôsin' mouth II b. xxvi a. *sê'sqssin'*

VI. MISCELLANEOUS LINGUISTIC MATERIAL.

NUMERALS.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>pá'a</i> | 11. <i>ôp'ân haik'u pá'a</i> | |
| 2. <i>sá'a</i> | 20. <i>sîmcyá'a</i> | 200. <i>sá'mîtc</i> |
| 3. <i>tcálas</i> | 30. <i>tcanaux'cyá'a</i> | 300. <i>tcá'adag'îtc</i> |
| 4. <i>môs</i> | 40. <i>môsalcyá'a</i> | 400. <i>môså'ag'îtc</i> |
| 5. <i>sîyâtcîs</i> | 50. <i>sêyats!alcyā'a</i> | 500. <i>sêatsā'ag'îtc</i> |
| 6. <i>t!áxam</i> (or- <i>ab</i>) | 60. <i>t!áxamalcyā'a</i> | 600. <i>t!axamā'ag'îtc</i> |
| 7. <i>ts!ô'tcî's</i> | 70. <i>ts!ôtcî'alcyá'a</i> | 700. <i>ts!ôtcîsā'ag'îtc</i> |
| 8. <i>tā'atcî's</i> | 80. <i>tā'atcîsalcyá'a</i> | 800. <i>tā'atcîsā'ag'îtc</i> |
| 9. <i>tig'î'x'u</i> | 90. <i>tig'î'xwalcyá'a</i> | 900. <i>tig'î'xwā'ag'îtc</i> |
| 10. <i>ôp'ân</i> | 100. <i>t'sā'îtc</i> | 1000. <i>t'sā'ag'îtc</i> |

2000 is *sába t'sā'ag'îtc* or *sā'a t'sā'ag'îtc*.

Numerals with classifying suffixes, referring to class of objects counted, are:—

| | People | Canoes | Fathoms | Houses | Dollars |
|-----|------------------------------|---|--|---|-----------------|
| 1. | <i>pí'pā'a</i> | <i>natcl'd^og^uil</i> | <i>natcl'd^ux^utāl</i> | <i>natcl'āxwāutx^u</i> | <i>pāq'qs</i> |
| 2. | <i>sí'sā'a</i> | <i>sābag^uil</i> | <i>sāmlāl</i> | <i>sā'abautx^u</i> | <i>sāq'qs</i> |
| 3. | <i>tcāláyi</i> | <i>tcāddā^og^uil</i> | <i>tcāddā^ux^utāl</i> | <i>tcā^odautx^u</i> | <i>tcālasqs</i> |
| 4. | <i>māqsāyi</i> | <i>māsaūl</i> | <i>māsaūlāl</i> | <i>māsa^utx^u</i> | <i>māsaqs</i> |
| 5. | <i>sēyatsāyi</i> | <i>sēyatsā^og^uil</i> | <i>sēyatsaltāl</i> | <i>sēyatsautx^u</i> | <i>sēyatsqs</i> |
| 6. | <i>tāzamāyi</i> | <i>tāzamā^og^uil</i> | | | |
| 7. | <i>ts!ātcisāyi</i> | | | | |
| 8. | <i>ta'ātcisāyi</i> | | | | |
| 9. | <i>tīg^utxwāyi</i> | | | | |
| 10. | <i>ōpānāyi</i> | | | | |

The series for “dollars” refers, properly speaking, to round objects, including such objects as heads and turnips.

BODY-PART SUFFIXES. Examples of body-part “substantivals,” as they have been termed by Boas, which occur only in composition (better perhaps derivation), are:—

head: *pāq·ē^oq^uwan^o* white-headed

tcix·ē^oq^uwan^o red-headed

(or *-ad^o*)

hand: *pāq·ō^udja^o* white-handed

tcixō^udja^o red-handed

eye: *pāq·āqs^o* white-eyed

pāq'pāq'āqs white-eyed (plur.; refers to several persons
or to two eyes of one person)

tcixāqs red-eyed

tcixāqs red-eyed (plur.)

nose: *ts!āts!ē^omiq^u* red-nosed

pāq·ē^oq^u white-nosed

t!āt!ts!ā^omiq^u nose bleeds

foot: *pāq'cin^o* white-footed

pāq'pāq'cin^o white-footed (plur.)

With these contrast independent use of “ear” in *pāq'pāq'q!qa'āda* “white ears.”

POSSESSIVE AND SUBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. Only very fragmentary data were secured on Comox pronouns. I do not consider them as particularly reliable.

tatsi mǝ'ǝs my head
tAN mǝ'ǝs your head

tA mǝ'ǝss his head (visible)

kU mǝ'ǝss his head (invisible)

tamsi mǝ'ǝs our heads
tA mǝ'ǝsap' your
 (plur.) heads (visible)

kU mǝ'ǝsap' your
 (plur.) heads (invisible)

tA and *kU* are articles implying visibility and invisibility respectively. Possessive pronouns modifying verb subjects are:—

'á *tsi mǝ'ǝs* my head is sore ('á to be sore)

'á *tAN mǝ'ǝs* your head is sore

'á *tA mǝ'ǝss* his head is sore

'á *tA mǝ'ǝss tA sǎlt'*^u the woman has headache (literally, sore the her-head the woman)

Possessive pronouns modifying verb objects are:—

tc'k!úda wad tsi mǝ'ǝs I see my head

tc'k!údaɁwad das mǝ'ǝs I see your head

tc'k!údaɁwad dA mǝ'ǝss I see his head

tc'k!údaɁwad das tcí'tcāyac I see your hands

tc'k!údaɁwad dA tcí'tcāyacs I see his hands

Subjective pronominal suffixes are:—

t̄t̄c t̄ō'mic I am a big man (*t̄* big)

t̄t̄'at̄' t̄ō'mic you are a big man

t̄t̄' t̄ō'mic he is a big man

t̄t̄'adjan sǎlt'^u I am a big woman

t̄t̄'adjaux' sǎlt'^u you are a big woman

VII. COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SALISH NOUN REDUPLICATION.

This is not the place to enter into anything like a systematic comparative treatment of Salish reduplication, the more so as the phonetics of most of the material available for comparison are not such as to allow one to make definitive classifications of plural and diminutive types (this remark applies particularly to vocalic quantity and glottal stops, both of which, as we have seen, are important for our present purpose). Certain facts of a comparative nature, however, come out quite clearly and may be briefly noted here.

PLURAL REDUPLICATION. It is evident that all Salish languages make use, like Comox, of different types of plural reduplication. Both types I and II are plentifully illustrated and are without doubt the fundamental Salish processes. Examples of type I are:—

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| Bella Coola | <i>s-tn</i> tree | plur. <i>s-tntn</i> ¹ (<i>s-</i> , as often in Salish, is prefix) |
| Tcil'qéuk (Cowichan group) | <i>s-kwomái</i> dog | <i>s-kwomkwomái</i> ² |
| Shuswap | <i>sk'áqa</i> dog | <i>s-k'agk'áqa</i> ³ |
| | <i>nógonuq</i> woman | <i>noqnógonuq</i> ³ |
| Okanagan | <i>s-k'elteméq</i> man | <i>s-k'elk'elteméq</i> ⁴ |
| Thompson River | <i>s-k'um</i> | <i>s-k'umk'um</i> ⁵ |
| mountain | <i>s-núkoa</i> friend | <i>s-nukenúkoa</i> ⁵ |
| | <i>s-kóum</i> crumpled | <i>s-kóumkóum</i> ⁵ |

Examples of type II are:—

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nanaimo | <i>s-pál</i> raven | <i>s-pelpá'l</i> ⁶ |
| | <i>s-tálo</i> river | <i>s-teltá'lō</i> ⁶ |

¹ F. Boas, *The Salish Languages of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 127.

² C. Hill-Tout, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

³ F. Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131. *k'* is here and in other forms equivalent to our *q*; *q* to our *q*; *ll* to our *l* (and *L*); *ll'* to our *Ll*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ F. Boas, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1898, 12th and Final Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 28.

⁶ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Shuswap | <i>s-kápk'EN</i> head plur. | <i>s-k'EPkápqEN</i> ¹ (probably misprint for <i>-kEPkáp'EN</i>) |
| | <i>k'ēst</i> bad | <i>ky'ESkēst</i> ¹ (probably misprint for <i>-k'ēst</i>) |
| Okanagan | <i>s-k'ēlQ</i> Indian | <i>s-k'ELk'ēlQ</i> ² |
| Thompson River | <i>váENQ</i> stone | <i>CENCáENQ</i> ³ |
| | <i>s-pam</i> camp fire | <i>s-PEmpám</i> ³ |
| | <i>s-nikiáp</i> coyote | <i>s-náknikiáp</i> ³ (<i>-i-</i> is very open and short, <i>-i-</i> is close and equivalent to our <i>-i-</i> ; hence type IIb) |
| | <i>s-quasít</i> to walk | <i>s-quSquasít</i> ³ (type II c) |

An interesting Thompson River example of type II is:—

ciráp tree *cipciráp*³

An example of type III (reduplicating *-aw-* contracted to *-o-* or *-ō-*), but with retained *-w-* (Comox *-g^v-*) is:—

Okanagan *tētūwēt* boy *tōtūwēt*⁴ (based on unre-duplicated form of simplex; final vowel of stem apparently shortened)

This example follows type III b. As illustrating diversity of usage in the treatment of the same stem in different Salish languages, compare with this:—

Lower Lillooet *tu'á^wwut'* boy *tūtū'á^wwut'*⁵ (*-u-* is short and close)

This follows type III a, besides which the stem itself seems to differ markedly in regard to vocalic quantity and rhythm from the cognate Okanagan stem. Shuswap agrees better with Okanagan:—

tūwēt boy *tūtūwēt*⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 28.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 135.

⁵ Some Lower Lillooet linguistic material was obtained in January, 1912, from I nace Jacob (Indian name *Yisp*).

⁶ F. Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131.

It would seem that type VII, which is only sporadically represented in Comox, is more typically developed in Interior Salish. Examples are:—

| | | |
|----------------|------------------------|--|
| Shuswap | <i>tsítq</i> house | plur. <i>tsítstítq</i> ¹ |
| | <i>gīéia</i> old woman | <i>gīgīéia</i> ¹ |
| Thompson River | <i>tcítq</i> house | <i>tcítctítq</i> ² |
| | <i>s-tsuk'</i> picture | <i>s-tsutsúk'</i> ² |
| | <i>s-k'ák'qa</i> dog | <i>s-k'ák'ák'qa</i> ² |
| | <i>s-peúzō</i> bird | <i>s-pepezúzō</i> ² (this form, however, may really be diminutive plural, <i>s-peúzō</i> being diminutive, with final reduplication, of <i>s-pezō</i> "animal," whose plural is normally formed: <i>s-pepezō</i> , ² type I) |

s-kikeláqoa musk-rat

| | | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Lower Lillooet | <i>tcít'ux</i> house | <i>tcítctít'ux</i> ³ |
| | <i>qō'ō</i> water | <i>qōqō'ō</i> ³ |

Note also:—

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| Nanaimo | <i>k'únes</i> whale (i.e. <i>qúnēs</i>) | <i>k'ōkwínis</i> ⁴ (probably misprint for <i>-k'wínis</i>) |
|---------|---|--|

It is interesting to contrast with this plural (*qōkwínis* in our orthography) Comox *qwad'qwádî's* humpbacked whales (<*qwan-qwánîs*) of type I. Here again we see the tendency for different Salish languages to form the plural of the same stem according to different types.

Type IX also is illustrated outside of Comox. Examples are:—

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------|--|
| Nanaimo | <i>lálēm</i> house | <i>lalálēm</i> ⁴ |
| | <i>wúqas</i> frog | <i>hāwēqas</i> ⁴ (- <i>u</i> - presumably glide; <i>hāw</i> - dissimilated from <i>*wāw</i> -?) |
| Tcil'qéuk | <i>mēla</i> son | <i>māmēla</i> ⁵ |

¹ *ibid.*, p. 131.

² F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12 Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 28.

³ Obtained from Ignace Jacob.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

Type X is illustrated in:—

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|---|
| Nanaimo | <i>k'ák'EN</i> post | plur. <i>k'álak'EN</i> ¹ (<i>ā</i> is apparently our <i>ê</i>) |
|---------|---------------------|---|

The last example, with its inserted *-la-*, shows also another method of plural formation, one not found, at least as far as can be judged from available material, in Comox. Other examples of this inserted *-l(a)-* are:—

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|--|
| Nanaimo | <i>há'pet</i> deer | <i>halá'pet</i> ² (type IX) |
| | <i>tcitc'ek'an</i> mink | <i>tciletc'ek'an</i> ² (type VII) |
| | <i>spák'EM</i> flower | <i>spálak'EM</i> ¹ |
| Teil'qéuk | <i>k'āmi</i> maid | <i>k'ālam</i> ³ |
| | <i>stEkéyū</i> horse | <i>stELEkÉyū</i> ³ |
| | <i>yāsuk</i> hat | <i>yálsuk</i> ³ |

There seem to be still other types of plural formation in Salish that are not represented in the Comox material given in this paper. One of these is to prefix *-A-* (Boas and Hill-Tout write *-E-*), which may be palatalized to *-i-*, to the stem. Examples of this type are:—

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|--|
| Nanaimo | <i>s-méyeç</i> deer | <i>s-Eméyeç</i> ⁴ |
| Teil'qéuk | <i>s-wēeka</i> man | <i>s-īwēeka</i> ³ (<i>-A-</i> palatalized to <i>-i-</i> , <i>-ī-</i> by <i>s-?</i>) |

This type is perhaps a reduced form of another one that occurs with some frequency, reduplication with *ca-*. Examples are:—

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Teil'qéuk | <i>láleM</i> house | <i>leláleM</i> ³ |
| | <i>s-mält</i> stone | <i>s-mEMält</i> ³ |
| Shuswap | <i>la</i> good | <i>lelá</i> ⁵ |

Nanaimo *laláleM* "houses," as compared with Teil'qéuk *leláleM*, suggests, in turn, that *ca-*reduplication is reduced from *ca-*reduplication (type IX). Teil'qéuk *yEsīām* "chiefs"³ from *sīām* may be dissimilated from **sEsīām* (or does *y-* reduplicate *-ī-* of stem?). Vocalic changes (*ē* to *ō* and *ā*) are illustrated in:—

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Teil'qéuk | <i>s-wēEkātł</i> boy | <i>wōEkātł</i> ³ |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------------|

¹ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

² *ibid.*, p. 128.

³ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>s-wéwílus</i> youth | <i>s-wáwílus</i> ¹ (this may be considered, however, as formed from unreduplicated simplex according to Type IX) |
|------------------------|---|

With the latter example compare Comox *wé''wāłos* "young men" from *wé'wāłos*.

To sum up, it is clear that there are a number of wide-spread Salish methods of forming the plural, which may, however, at last analysis turn out to be capable of reduction to Type I (of which Type II may be a reduced form). It is conceivable that sub-types, which have developed in particular cases from this by secondary phonetic processes (cf., e.g., Comox Types III and VIII), set the pace for new purely analogical, not etymologically justifiable, forms, so that now any one Salish language exhibits great irregularity. Certain of these secondary types seem to be favoured in one language, others in another, so that, as we have seen, the same stem is sometimes differently treated in different languages. To unravel the history of reduplicated (and other) plurals in Salish, however, requires a far more abundant body of material, for purposes of comparison, than has as yet been made accessible.

DIMINUTIVE REDUPLICATION. The last remark applies even more forcibly to the study of Salish diminutive formations, for here there is a still greater variety of types represented. Available comparative data are quite scanty, so that only a few points can here be referred to. The most consistently carried out difference between plural and diminutive reduplication in Salish is that in the former the first two consonants of the stem (though not infrequently only the first) are reduplicated, while in the latter only the first is reduplicated, never also the second. At the same time there is a marked tendency, as in so many Comox examples, for vocalic reduction of the stem. Reduplication with *ē*-vowel seems also characteristic of many forms; also breaking of stem vowel and umlaut of *a* to *ɛ* or *ē* seem to be found.

Some of the types represented, outside of Comox, are:—

¹ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20

Type X.

| | | |
|----------|--------------------|---|
| Nanaimo | <i>láleM</i> house | diminutive <i>lələM</i> ¹ (based on unreduplicated simplex) |
| Okanagan | | <i>héhōtEM</i> little girl ² (<i>h</i> = our <i>x</i> ^v) |

Type XII.

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nanaimo | <i>wúqas</i> frog | <i>wéwēqas</i> ³ |
|---------|-------------------|-----------------------------|

Type XIX a.

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Nanaimo | <i>k'ák'EN</i> post | <i>k'ák'k'EN</i> ³ |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------------------|

Type XXI a.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Shuswap | <i>pasítlkua</i> lake | <i>papsítlkua</i> ⁴ |
| Thompson River | <i>s-núkoa</i> friend | <i>núnkoa</i> ⁷ |

Type XXIII.

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Tcil'qéuk | <i>s-tálō</i> river | <i>s-tátzlō</i> ⁵ |
| Nanaimo | <i>s-tá'lo</i> river | <i>s-tátzlō</i> ⁶ |

Type XXVI a.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| Nanaimo | <i>s-púk'EM</i> flower | <i>s-pápk'EM</i> ⁶ |
| Comparable perhaps to Comox Type XXX a is:— | | |
| Thompson River | <i>s-péé'tc</i> black bear (<i>é</i> = our <i>e</i>) | <i>s-pápaats</i> ⁷ (<i>-aa-</i> = <i>-a'a-</i> ?) |

Other diminutive types than those listed for Comox undoubtedly exist in Salish. Among these is reduplication with *ca-* (cf. plural types above), as examples of which may be given:—

| | | |
|----------------|---------------------|--|
| Thompson River | <i>c-méits</i> deer | <i>c-méméits</i> ⁸ |
| Tcil'qéuk | <i>lúLEM</i> house | <i>lélám</i> ⁹ (based on unreduplicated form of simplex; change of <i>-e-</i> to <i>-á-</i> is perhaps parallel to that of Comox <i>-A-</i> to <i>-á-</i>) |

¹ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

² C. Hill-Tout, Report on the Ethnology of the Okanák'én of British Columbia, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xli, 1911, p. 143.

³ F. Boas, *ibid.*

⁴ Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

⁶ Boas, *ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷ Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 29.

⁸ Boas, *ibid.*

⁹ Hill-Tout, *ibid.*

Similar apparently to Comox type VII (but without diminutive feature 2a), except for its incomplete reduplication (loss of reduplicating consonant after *s-*, cf. plural types above), is:—

Teil'qéuk *s-mält* stone diminutive *s-emelét*¹

Reduplicating with *eŷ-*, and with breaking of stem-vowel, is:—

Thompson River *kes* bad *kekées-t*² (? = -*ka'as*)

This type may well exist in Comox, but not happen to be represented in the material collected. Such diminutive forms as Thompson River *qezúzum*¹, with interior reduplication, from *qzúm* "large," and Thompson River *speyúzu*¹, with change of *-z-* to *-y-*, from *spezúzu* "bird," are evidently representatives of very specialized types. Neither of these, so far as known, has a Comox counterpart.

Judging from the analogy of Comox and from a few Interior Salish forms obtained by the writer, it seems very likely that glottal stops are frequently employed in Salish as diminutivizing elements, though this is not apparent from most of the material that has been published. Examples are:—

Upper Lillooet³ *s-múlätc* woman *se-m'ém'letc* girl

Thompson River⁴ *c-múlätc* woman *c-mú'm'lätc*
(type XXVIa)

Comparative data on diminutive plurals are too scanty to enable us to gather much of interest. Some Interior Salish forms obtained by the writer seem to indicate quite clearly that in those languages the diminutive plural is not, as in Comox, a diminutivized plural, but a pluralized diminutive; in other words, of the two reduplicating syllables, the first contains the first two consonants of the stem (plural type), the second syllable the first consonant only (diminutive type). Examples are:—

Upper Lillooet plur. *s-mulmú'lätc* dim. *se-m'ém'letc* girl
women

dim. plural
se-mel'm'ém'letc

Thompson River *c-mulmúlätc* dim. *c-mú'm'lätc*
women dim. pl. *c-melmú'm'lätc*

¹ Hill-Tout, *ibid.*

² Boas, *ibid.*

³ Upper Lillooet forms were obtained in January, 1912, from Chief Jim (Indian name *Aidé'sq'tl*). *e* has here been used to indicate very short obscure vowel of undefined quality.

⁴ Some Thompson River forms were obtained in January, 1912, from Chief Tetlenitsa.

This difference of treatment again indicates that in many respects each dialectic division of Salish has gone its own way in the use of morphologic features common to Salish generally.





